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ABSTRACT

This document is a republication of the Aylesbury Report, first published and distributed almost secretly in 1981 as the result of an action research project in a large housing project (the Aylesbury Estate) in southeast London. The project offered employees of a local education authority the opportunity to question, criticize, and experiment with some of its policies and practices in delivering adult education, in an attempt to change its way of doing things. The foreword, by one of the original authors, presents an opportunity for reflection at a time of change in the management of adult education policy. The project's design and methodology (visits and interviews) are described. Recommendations are listed, guidelines for project evaluation are stated, and what has happened since the project is described. Also covered are the following: a history of Inner London Education Authority outreach, a proposal for establishing an advisory unit for community education, theoretical models of community education, the unease of the outreach worker, workers' fears of violence, and notes on a visit to Denmark by the project team. Appendixes include a list of project participants, a calendar of events, selections from the outreach workers' daily diaries, an area profile, and census returns. (KC)

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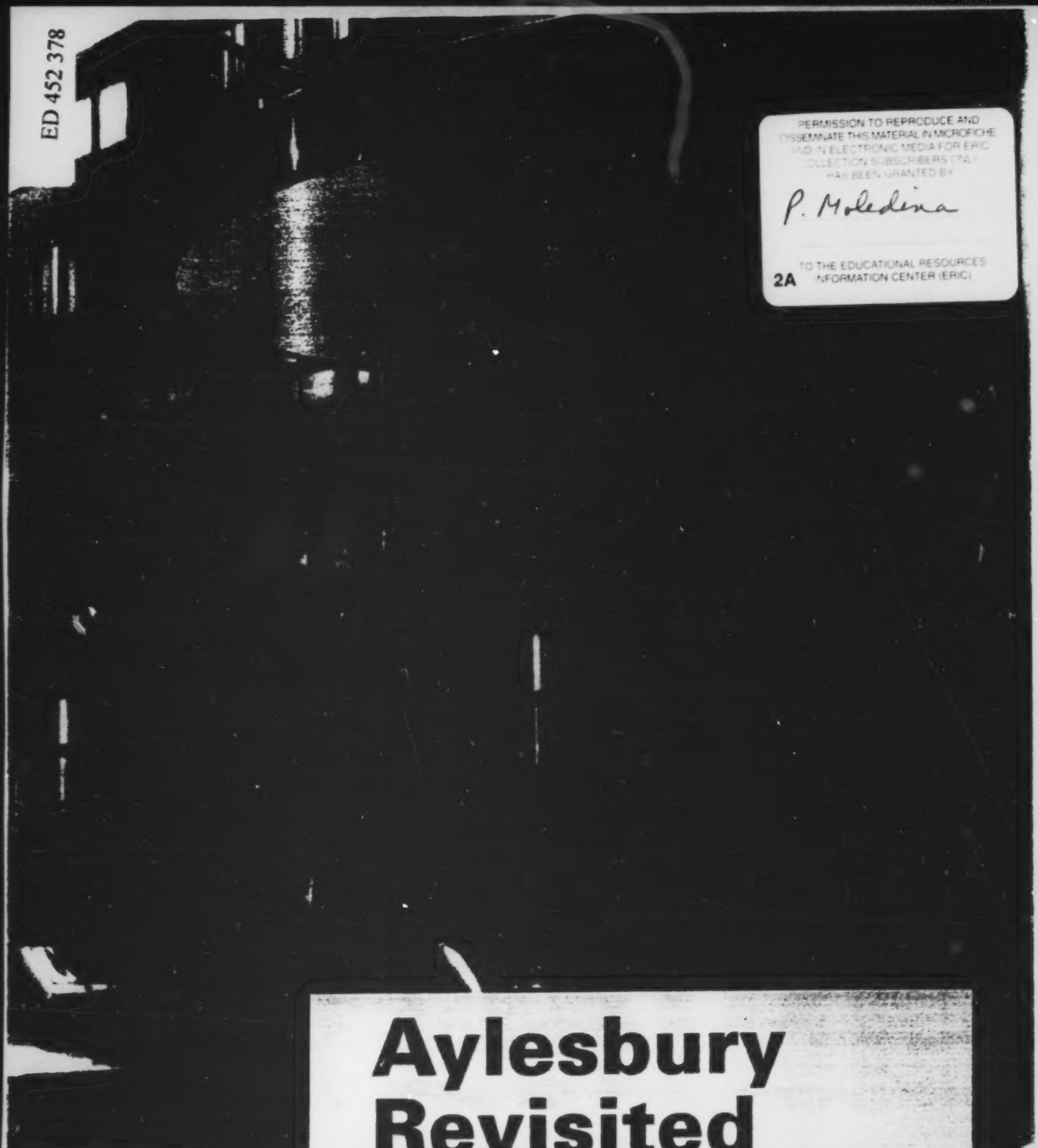

Aylesbury Revisited

Outreach in the 1980s

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Aylesbury Revisited

Outreach in the 1980s

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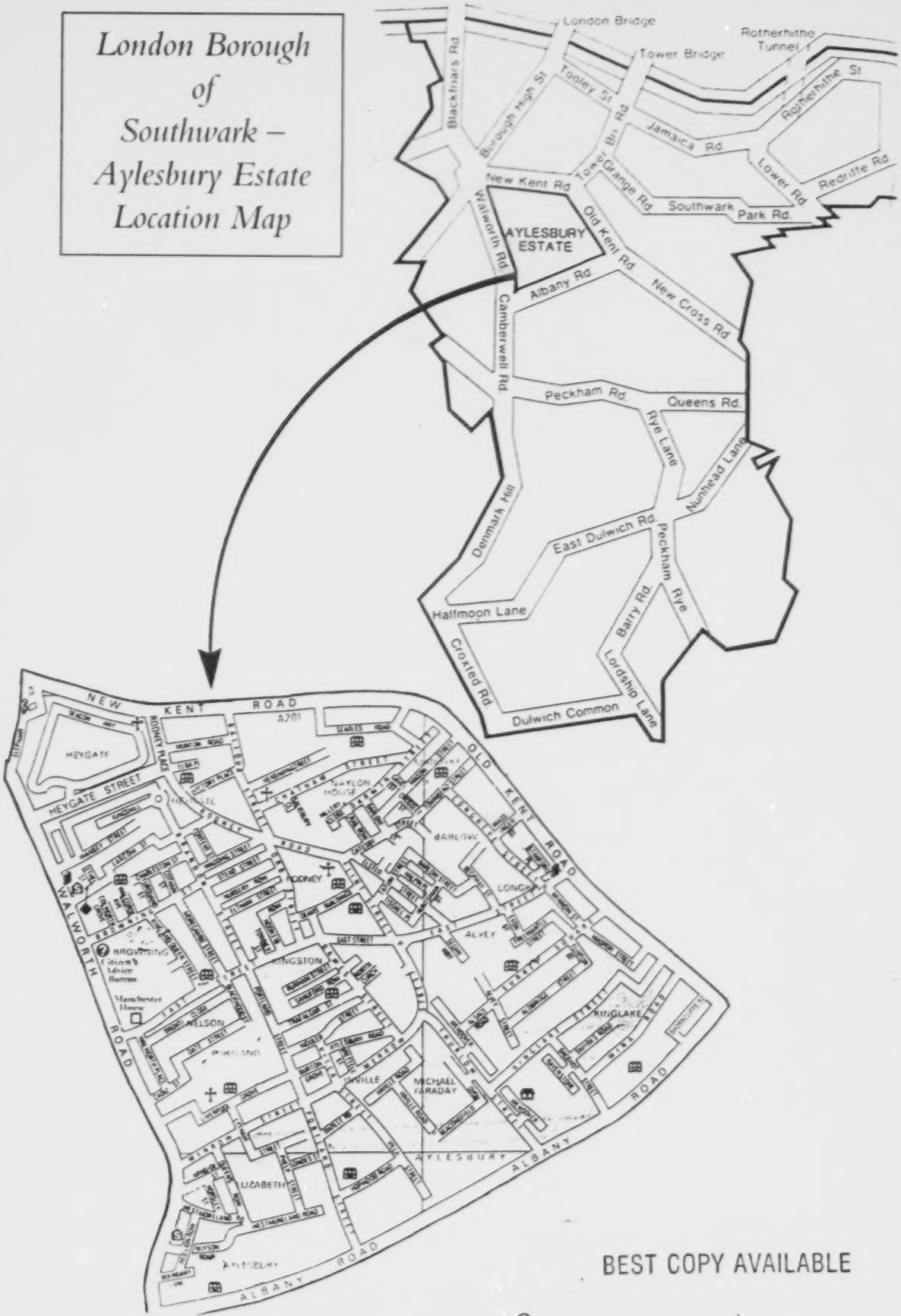

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FOREWORD

The *Aylesbury Report* reconsidered: "What a long strange trip it's been" (The Grateful Dead)

It has been a strange experience writing this Foreword to the reprinting of the *Aylesbury Report*. For 20 years I have felt that I was the keeper of an almost secret text. Whilst it had been one of the most formative experiences of my career, and perhaps of some of the other participants, it received little notice or comment from the outside world then or subsequently. The *Aylesbury Report* documents (and is one of the few publications to do so) an almost unique moment in the history of adult education in England – when a local education authority gave licence to at least some of its employees to question, criticise and experiment with some of its policies and practices in the delivery of adult education, in an attempt to do things differently.

What seems so startling now, 20 years on, is that the Authority, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), that did this was at the time the largest deliverer of adult education in the country, devoting around two per cent of the total education spend to non-vocational adult education in free-standing centres and institutes. This was a service with a long and proud history which was not only a national, but also an international beacon for adult educators. Yet ILEA had the strength and self-confidence (some might say the arrogance) to employ and allow a motley collection of community education/outreach workers as change agents. How lucky we were! As Wordsworth said, "Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven". How inconceivable such an initiative would be in the harsher post-Thatcherite world of post-16 education and training at the millennium's turn; to be able to make mistakes and have failures from which one could learn. It all seems very far away from the pre-occupation with funding, units and the bottom line with which we have become so accustomed.

I am especially delighted to see the re-publication of the *Aylesbury Report* because as one of the co-editors and co-leaders of the project, and then working in Southwark Adult Education (the service that covered the Aylesbury Estate from the finish of the Aylesbury Project until virtually the demise of the free-standing adult education service in Southwark with 1992/3 Incorporation of further education colleges), I became the person who tried to implement the suggestions that arose from the *Report*. I was also the keeper of the small number of actual *Reports*; a number which was gradually diminished largely through keeping the NIACE Library supplied with copies. These always seemed to disappear shortly after I had dispatched another batch at Alan Tuckett's request. I am now down to the last three printed copies, so re-publication comes not a moment too soon.

Some of the strangeness in writing this has been akin to what it must be like for the proverbial drowning man who is supposed to see his past life flashing by. At least part of my pleasure at seeing the *Report* again in the public domain is a pleasure of rediscovery: a personal rediscovery of where I have come through and what I was thinking then; and a wider rediscovery of what seems a lost history of outreach. That this history has been lost and is only just being rediscovered is no accident. The hard-nosed instrumentalism of post-16 education and training that became increasingly the norm in the mid-1980s, and certainly after Incorporation and the splitting of adult education into Schedule 2 and non-Schedule 2 work, had to deny other traditions and other approaches. Indeed ILEA itself was not that keen to publish the *Report*. In the end Southwark Adult Education published it; hence the almost "samizdat" format of the original document.

The re-publication of the *Report*, however, should not be a wallowing in the warm bath of nostalgia. In preparing to write this piece, I went back and re-read the *Report* for the first time in very many years. I was both surprised and delighted to find how relevant it still is. Of course much of it is dated, not least in its language. It was, after all, written in 1980 before the great Equal Opportunities debates and policy steers of the 1980s, and the absence of those is particularly noticeable. Nonetheless what we did in the Aylesbury project, what we thought and what we agonised over in the debate, has amazing resonances for current debates in adult and further education and widening participation as we approach the launch of the new post-16 education and training system that will be the Learning and Skills Councils.

These resonances occurred to me first when reading the Kennedy Report for the first time on its publication in 1997. As we know, the Kennedy Report was the first break in the ideology of market forces and competition in further and adult education and the re-emergence of the social dimensions back into FE and adult education. As I first read Kennedy I kept thinking, "we did most of this 20 years ago. It's all in the *Aylesbury Report*", and indeed it is. I was amazed to find this sentence in the *Report*:

> "it seems to be a rule in our society that the more education you receive, the more you get"

Is that not the core of the Kennedy message and the various surveys on adult learning from recent years? Is that not the message behind the rhetoric of the "Learning Society"?

Writing this Foreword then, has become an exercise both in reflecting on outreach work over the last 20 years and in looking forward to a new era and system that hopefully those ideas, principles and practices will once again be acknowledged and used. The last 20 years, and especially the last ten years including the Incorporation of colleges and the splits in adult education, cannot be undone. The process of developing theory and practice is a dialectical one. We build on past experiences, good and bad, and develop new ones in relation to those. Those 20 years have often felt to be a Dark Age for progressive adult education. But in re-reading the *Aylesbury Report* again, one is aware of the positive changes as well as the negative ones. Many if not most FE colleges are more aware of their communities, than back then. Adult education has moved centre stage for them, and many college practices have changed, usually for the better.

Since 1997 many of the concepts that we as outreach workers fought for and pioneered have become part of Government post-16 education strategy: family education; learner-focused education; childcare in colleges; the value and the difficulties of successful inter-agency partnership; the crucial importance of staff training and staff development are all discussed in the *Aylesbury Report* just as they are now. Indeed, the very concept of sub-regional structures for education and especially post-16 education which was what the ILEA was, will re-emerge on 1 April 2001 with the Learning and Skills Councils.

Among the key current debates that I believe the *Aylesbury Report* can and does illuminate are the following:

- **Outreach practice:** the Report, and especially the piece by Sally Nicholls and Evelyn Murray on the unease of the Outreach Worker, and the extracts from the Project participants' diaries give interesting insights into the pressures and actual work of outreach. The pressures between the bureaucratic requirements of education systems and people's real lives are still with us. Indeed they have become worse. The section in the *Report* that deals with providers' relationships with voluntary organisations should be required reading not only for college and adult education managers, but also for those who will be working in and running Learning and Skills Councils. The lessons should reach further than that. The Government's recently published Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy recognises the role of adult and informal education, small scale intervention and capacity building in relieving the blight that afflicts so many communities. Outreach in inner London was an

early example of that. In an age when outcomes are only valid if they are quantifiable in hard measures, can there be outreach practice which slow and expensive, whose results can only really be seen in the medium or long term, and where the evaluation is as much about process as it is about short-term achievement? In an age of funding imperatives and funding units, is it still possible to experiment and fail and then learn from that failure?

The questions raised in Sally and Evelyn's piece about "what does it mean to consult the community", "assessment of need", the "community education worker as professional" are all issues that we are concerned with now 20 years on from when they were written. Although the arguments about "whose side is the community education worker on?" seem to be very "Sixties" and "Seventies", the awareness and the questioning that lay behind them, were valuable corrective elements in the debate, which we could well revisit now.

The debates and discourses in the *Aylesbury Report* are framed in the language and issues that were relevant and appropriate then. I would argue that at a fundamental level they should still be current. The article by Nell Keddie and Stephen Parott on "user" and "provider" models uses terminology that quickly became out of date. However, the issues it dealt with are still with us. The LSCs have, after all, been directed to be more learner-focused. The contradictions between that and increased and centralised bureaucracies that we faced then in relation to one local authority across the whole post-16 education and training sector will be writ large in the LSC system to come. The battles with the ILEA Inspectorate may be nothing compared to struggles we may have with Ofsted and ALI in the new system.

In similar manner the angst of the outreach worker as a middle-class educated professional translating and transmitting the learning needs of alienated and disadvantaged individuals and communities have and should be never be far away.

It is fascinating in re-reading the Report to see the changes in language. People are still referred to as "students" rather than "learners". I have already mentioned the absence of the language of equal opportunities, although not the concerns. The sections on "racism" in the report are remarkable in the way that they recognise institutional racism as an endemic problem, and that black staff needed particular support.

It is also noticeable that there are few if any references to the economic arguments for adult education and learning. We spoke in the language of social and community development; what today we would call "capacity building". This was in part because we were operating in a non-vocational service. Indeed some of our greatest battles with ILEA were getting to recognise the vocational aspects of adult education, and then being able to hang on to it. The hard-nosed talk today of learning for employability for international competitiveness was absent. Maybe it shouldn't have been.

- **Staff development:** The Aylesbury Project was a piece of staff development. At a time when professionalism among post-school education workers, when staff development and training are centre stage with the Government's emphasis on quality, and with the creation of the FENTO and PAULO and the establishment of occupational standards for the sector, then this *Report* has messages for us now in this area.

Aylesbury was a piece of self-determined staff development that tried to address what the workers actually involved in delivery needed and wanted. It was a piece of action research

as well. This meant that the training was rooted in actual practice rather than in theory and just discussion. It gave an opportunity and space for reflection. Again, are these not ideas which we need to re-discover? At a time when professionalism of FE and adult education staff is again on the agenda, and as PAULO, the Informal Education NTO, begins to think about occupational standards for informal education, from which qualifications and staff development programmes will be derived, *Aylesbury* highlights aspects of self-programmed staff development programmes that need to be built on again. If lifelong learning is to mean anything, then it must allow space and opportunity for reflection on praxis, that is, the combination of theory and practice.

- **Management of change and change agents:** ILEA's community outreach experiment was an exercise in the management of change, although of course this was a much later concept. The outreach initiative was built on the idea that the community education/ outreach worker would be the catalyst for change both in providers and out in the community. It put a heavy burden on individual workers. Resistance to what they advocated could be strong and painful. Some of us were broken by it. Of course the institutes in which the outreach workers operated were small with few full-time staff and little appreciation either of management or strategy. The one I joined in the early 1970s had only six full-time staff including support staff. Providers did become far bigger. The one I left in the early 1990s had over 150 full-time staff, and outreach staff today may well find themselves in establishments of several hundred. But the experience of attempting to innovate from the margins and how to influence the mainstream is still relevant.

One of the main sources of strength that we had in those early years of outreach was our own network and self-help group. Perhaps one of the greatest losses from that time has been the way that under the pressure of competition and market forces, workers have become atomised, sharing practice and ideas were discouraged. It was remarkable how soon after ILEA had been abolished, one had little idea of what was happening in neighbouring boroughs and establishments, never mind what was happening across London. Perhaps one of the main tasks of the local LSCs will be to redevelop those networks and encourage co-operation and sharing of experience.

The article by Mike Cushman and myself on the history of ILEA outreach shows how even then we tried to grapple with the contradictions inherent in that position. In the 1980s many outreach workers moved into mainstream adult education management and tried to carry our experiences and the lessons learnt into the adult education curriculum. Ultimately the cuts and destruction of the Thatcher years on local government and adult education nullified these efforts. However current providers, and in particular the local LSCs will face similar dilemmas and problems as they seek to respond to learner need with imaginative innovation and mainstream that so that the whole of post-16 provision can change.

In conclusion I hope that in uncovering part of outreach history, it will give adult education workers as much joy in discovering that they are part of a continuum of developments that we found when writing the *Report*, when through William Devereux's book on the history of Inner London Adult Education, we were able to see ourselves as part of a tradition of developing progressive and radical adult education that stretched back over a hundred years. I hope that our struggles and debates will assist those in colleges, adult education services and the voluntary sector who are fighting for progressive, radical and liberating adult education practice with their struggles today and in the future.

I would also like to pay a public tribute to a number of people without whose efforts and foresight, the outreach workers of that time would have given up and the whole Aylesbury Project and Report would not have happened.

To Jim Anders, then Principal of Frobisher Adult Education Institute, and later Southwark Adult Education, whose idea the whole project was, and who acted as godfather, supporter and

encourager of outreach workers; to Peter Clyne, then Assistant Education Officer of ILEA (Community Education and Careers), who, despite our onslaughts and criticisms of many of his policies, did allow the Project to take place; and to Alan Tuckett who over the years has never forgotten the Aylesbury Project and *Report* and the debates that raged then and now and has been instrumental in this re-publishing.

Most of all I would like to pay tribute to my fellow outreach workers who were on the Aylesbury Project. We were a funny bunch to say the least. Most of us were young, and some might and did say naïve. The years have taken their toll, both in terms of the ageing process and in terms of cuts and job losses. I think there may only be two or three ILEA outreach workers still working in FE and adult education in London. Of the others some have retired, still others have moved on out of education. Some moved out of adult education altogether and into different education sectors. Others have gone abroad and are still working in adult education. One or two even rose to the top. One of our number has just been appointed to the National LSC Board. Those workers awakened my love for adult education and the memory of our struggles, debates and discussions is one that I treasure. It is vital that we reclaim our past, even if it is fairly recent history. There are neither time nor resources enough for us to re-invent wheels again. For as Marx said history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. We cannot, nor more importantly can learners, afford that.

Dan Taubman
National Official (Education)
NATFHE
October 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following Report and papers should be seen as working papers from a group of community education workers at a particular point in time ie just before and just after the reorganisation of the ILEA's adult education service. These papers do not attempt to give the final word on community education and outreach. Much more research needs to be undertaken. However, the papers do summarise what some community education workers do feel about their practice over the last decade.

The editorial group wish to thank the following: those outreach workers who took part in the project, those workers who have contributed to the development of community education in London over the past 10 years, the staff of the former Chaucer-Walworth Institute who allowed the teams to examine their work and records and gave us space to work during the Project; in particular Mrs Fillery, the Acting Principal, and Gina Mastbraker, the Senior Administrative Officer. We also would like to thank Mrs Doreen Fullilove and Mrs Beryl Levy who acted as secretaries to the teams. We are grateful to Peter Clyne, Assistant Education Officer, who allowed us to see the manuscript of W Devereux's book on adult education in London 1870 – 1970 before publication. We would also thank all the professional workers on Aylesbury who we contacted and who gave us time and energy. We would like to thank all the residents of the Aylesbury Estate with whom we came into contact and who patiently bore our somewhat strange questions. Thanks to the office staff of the new Southwark Institute for Adult Education, especially Margaret Calvo, who helped in putting together this report and did all the typing.

Sally Nicholls
Dan Taubman
Evelyn Murray
Kundry Clarke
Mike Cushman

INTRODUCTION

Jim Anders

HOW AND WHY THE PROJECT WAS SET UP

1. *BACKGROUND*

The Aylesbury Project was conceived at a time when I was personally involved in an area of study which, in basic hypothesis, was attempting to assess whether the adoption of what has broadly been described as a "community education" approach, would result in a more appropriate adult education provision than one based on what has been termed a "provider's model". (Stephen Parrott, Nell Keddie *et al*). In my perception, the community education model should make possible the development of the formal curriculum through approaching local people in such a way as to enable them to identify their own learning needs with confidence, and to take a measure of control over the process of learning.

An opportunity to test this supposition arose following my brief (and unsatisfactory) contribution to an in-service course for ILEA community education workers at Avery Hill College in 1979. It seemed to me that if I were able to persuade the Authority to allow me, jointly, to direct an action-research project within a clearly defined geographical area, involving the community education workers, then there would be enormous advantages for them, in such an opportunity, to grow and learn from each other professionally. Given that resources would be allocated in order that any recommendations could be implemented, it seemed to me that the local people involved could only gain also from this project.

As Principal-designate of the new Southwark Adult Education Institute, with a review of inherited provision in prospect, following the re-organisation of Adult Education in Inner London, the absence of any established policy based on agreed theoretical concepts seemed to me to be a major deficit.

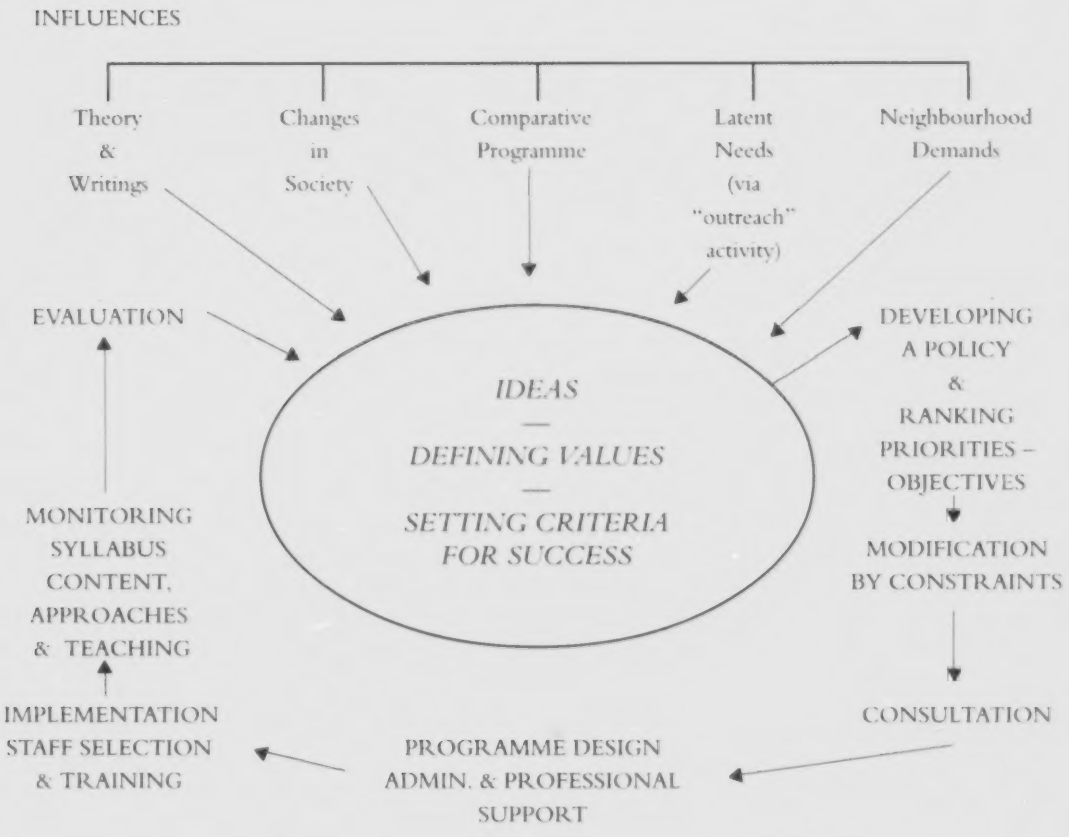
In 1974, my former Institute had, through the then Community Education Worker, Frank Youngman, prepared a document which had been endorsed by the Institute's Governors, and which had been fundamental in enabling us to agree a policy, and rank our priorities in a climate of scarce resources. The basic questions addressed by this review had been (1) for whom are we trying to offer a service? (2) what sort of programme would we need to resource? and (3) how are needs assessed?

My suggestion was, that in the new Southwark AEI we should attempt to maintain a process whereby we could help local adults to identify their own learning needs and join with us in planning the content, context and approach of the teaching. The diagram illustrates the process.

As Adult educationalists, we know that adults will choose voluntarily to attend courses and become involved in services which fulfil a number of criteria:

1. Offer a degree of student control over the learning process;
2. Have content or subject matter which is relevant to their needs and regarded as worthwhile;
3. Where staff are non-threatening, but welcoming;
4. When the time of day, the day of the week and the support services are realistic and appropriate. In other words the access to learning is easy and at their convenience rather than at the convenience of professionals;
5. Have reasonably low fees and an opportunity to reduce fees in cases of genuine hardship;

ORGANIZING A LOCAL ADULT EDUCATION RESPONSE



6. When the attitude of professionals is to work with them on equal terms and always helping to build up self confidence.

Faced, in the new Institute, with the challenge of assessing approaches which would enable us to begin to service the educational needs of large, densely-populated housing estates; the Aylesbury seemed an obvious choice of area in which to embark on this kind of assessment. In utilising the varied talents and considerable accumulated experience of the ILEA community education workers, it seemed reasonable to suppose that they could identify their own individual and collective learning needs and design and enact an action/research programme from which to learn.

Having written to Maurice Cook and Brian Leighton of the ILEA Inspectorate and Peter Clyne, the Assistant Education Officer, I was invited to discuss further with them how such a Project might be mounted within the range of the formal in-service training programmes offered by the Authority. Suggestions made by these colleagues, together with their active support greatly enhanced the quality of the ensuing arrangements.

The residential component of the Project, which followed the action-research programme, was crucial to the success of the Project in that it enabled findings to be analysed and theories tested against practical experience.

2. *PERCEIVED OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT*

At the outset of the Project, the workers defined a series of aims and objectives for themselves which are outlined in the following report. As director, my own objectives were:

(a) *In-Service*

To facilitate a learning exchange for them, and to enable them to plan and implement their own in-service training by providing the necessary support in

(i) freedom from their regular duties for a limited period of time.
(ii) background research (ie the compilation of an area profile).
(iii) using any personal contacts which my staff or myself had already established.
(iv) bringing in outside professional expertise, as identified by them; for formal and informal information-sharing and support
(v) providing the necessary accommodation and clerical services as back-up.

(b) *Action Research*

(i) to assemble as much detailed knowledge as was practicable about the area.
(ii) to build up a network of personal contacts with key individuals in various local departments, organisations and community groups, and to document these, in order to permit follow-up by Institute staff after the completion of the Project.
(iii) to compile a series of proposals for appropriate curriculum and programme planning, in the short, medium and long term, whilst avoiding any raising of expectations amongst local people involved.
(iv) to produce a report offering constructive criticism of the situation existing in the estate and also to comment critically on the organisation and working of the Authority's in-service programme.

The report which follows hopefully will provide a model which has implications for future training patterns for all of the Authority's development workers.

The Project touched on a range of issues which have a strong bearing on the lives of the people in that neighbourhood – many of the concerns arising from living in flats in the contemporary inner city, viz active and creative leisure, the organisation and operation of local services, what it means to be a teenager on the Estate, older people's fears about going out at night, racism and other kinds of prejudice. The following Report does not seek to provide comprehensive answers – its primary purpose is to suggest approaches which may assist people to arrive at solutions, individually or in groups, using the resources of the Adult Education service. It should also be remembered that this is a process which can only happen within a time-scale; the pace at which changes can be made, is determined both by the constraints of the legacy inherited by the re-organised Southwark Institute; and by the need for thorough preparatory groundwork, and a recognition of the fact that change does take time.

3. *OUTCOMES*

The main outcomes of the Project might be said to be:

(A) Some proposals about restructuring the existing adult education provision on the Aylesbury in order to ensure a more satisfactory delivery.
(B) For the host Institute, a basis for the development of the curriculum and some tested guidelines for work on large estates.

(C) A substantial addition to the sum total of the Authority's experience of providing in-service training, with all the attendant insights; and

(D) A growth in confidence and morale within the community education workers' group by working together and developing a common vocabulary of experience whilst considering the theoretical base of the work.

4. *PERSONNEL*

A. *Dr David Boak*

Mention has already been made of the various circumstances which coincided to enable this Project to be mounted. Special mention should be made of Dr David Boak's secondment to my Institute staff from the British Council, which made it possible for him to act initially as a researcher in preparing the area profile. Subsequently his role developed to become a highly qualified and interested, yet objective, observer/enabler.

B. *The Two Group Leaders, Sally Nicholls and Dan Taubman*

My close liaison and working pattern with Sally Nicholls, a member of my staff team, meant that her role as one of two group leaders appointed by the Project workers, enabled me to be kept closely informed about the plans being made, and also allowed me to become involved as and when it was felt to be necessary. Dan Taubman contributed different and valuable perspectives gained through his experience as a worker elsewhere in ILEA.

Both group leaders brought with them many qualities important in community education workers – ie a wide knowledge of the education of adults, a sensitive and tactful non-directive approach to people, a caring concern and a deep commitment to the work. As with Sally, Dan's personal qualifications and experience fitted him well to draw together the essential factors in a way which could be documented and present an academically valid piece of research, as well as examining the social and educational implications for programme planners. The following Report has been compiled and edited by the two group leaders, Sally Nicholls and Dan Taubman with particular help from their colleague Evelyn Murray, and additional assistance from two other project members, Kundry Clarke and Mike Cushman. They have sought to incorporate views expressed during the Project, by the workers who took part, and therefore it inevitably includes a degree of personal opinion as well as expressed hopes.

Many of the implications have still to be drawn out from the text before the Southwark Institute, at any rate, can examine its provision and implement policies which might relate more closely to the needs of all of the community. It seems to me that the Southwark Institute still has to work out its theoretical base for the new Institute before we can discuss and agree policy and rank our priorities. This paper will serve to focus our attention onto the issues of providing opportunities for socially relevant and personally satisfying adult learning to take place, whilst encouraging people to take more responsibility for much of their own learning by setting the content, context and approaches within their classes.

As the course progressed I became greatly encouraged by the overwhelming evidence in their action which clearly indicated and vindicated the Authority's earlier wisdom phases of the course at the estate level, the meetings, residential courses and in Denmark I felt enormously proud to be associated with them. They showed themselves to be knowledgeable, skilful, sensitive, caring, conscientious and extremely committed to the work and generous to a fault with their own time. In Denmark they were most impressive ambassadors and the British Council Officers and the Danish Ministry of Educations Senior Officials took trouble to inform me of their appreciation of this fact.

The experience of the Project reinforces my appreciation of their key role within our service. If we are committed to the notion of appropriate curriculum development, then it seems to me

that they are the people to make it a reality. Significant sums of uncommitted tutor hours and other resources will need to be controlled directly by CEW's if change is to occur in the ways outlined earlier.

In a service which might, at best, enrol ten per cent of the local population it seems to be crucial to examine whether or not the fact that the classes are reasonably well subscribed, should be the only justification necessary for annual renewal. A proper balance, should be struck in projected programmes. The polarisation of arguments between traditional or "main stream" against participative or 'outreach' are unhelpful to our service. In our CEW colleagues we have key workers who effectively can bring about curriculum change and involve larger numbers of people as students, hitherto unattracted to, or unaware of, our service.

My experience on this course leads me to urge that the special knowledge and skills of our CEW colleagues should be allowed to influence policy and practice in the way Institutes respond. These key workers are able to unlock wider opportunities and afford access to educational provision for more adult Londoners, irrespective of race, sex, physical/mental/emotional condition or past attainment. In Southwark we are acting upon their findings and other Institutes could well take advantage of the wider skills acquired, if not of the notion of using teams as "hit squads" to make a big impact on a locality whilst learning from each other.

The Aylesbury Project

Part 1

Action Research and In-Service Training

Chapter 1

THE AYLESBURY PROJECT IN THE CONTEXT OF PREVIOUS CONCEPTS OF IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR ILEA COMMUNITY EDUCATION WORKERS

In the paper on the history of outreach accompanying this report (see Part II), the authors, Mike Cushman and Dan Taubman draw attention to the ambivalent attitude of the Authority and its officers to the growing number of ILEA community education workers appointed during the early 1970's, on the one hand proudly showing them off to visiting educationists and HMI's, and yet in their internal dealings with them giving every sign of regarding them with mistrust as potentially dangerous radicals. (That the group may have to some extent relished this image of themselves as trouble-shooters, and played into it, seems likely.) The authors maintain that it was at least partly due to the Authority's uncertainty that the "ILEA, despite nods ... towards (the idea of) substantial in-service training, did not in fact initiate any such programme, either for its new (CEW) recruits or generally for the Institutes to comprehend its new policy directions." By contrast "fashion and craft staff had annual residential courses, and an extensive pattern of other courses throughout the year. No such support system was ever created for outreach workers, and in nine years, only two residential courses were held for them. The only means of support in existence was that created by the workers themselves, originally starting with an informal swapping of ideas and information. As the numbers of outreach workers grew, this group became more formal, although its twin tasks of support and information have remained."

From its earliest days, the group reviewed continually the ILEA community education workers' role and practice, usually within the context of particular current issues as they arose; but the wish for more formal in-service opportunities to consider their work together, both from a practical and a theoretical viewpoint, emerged as a major strand in the discussions of the group in the mid 1970s, reflecting to some extent the pressures towards professionalisation which were beginning to be felt throughout the Service, and which were shortly to crystallise with the proposals for the in-service training of part-time staff made by the Advisory Council on the Supply and Training of Teachers. [1]

Subsequently, the group not only developed views (largely unheeded) about its own training needs, but also made definite contributions to the thinking of the Service on a number of training-related matters. These included:

1. The setting up of the family and social education panel within the ILEA Inspectorate, to agree for payment purposes the appointment as part-time tutors, of particularly able local people lacking the paper qualifications required. (It should be noted, however, that decisions about what can be considered as "family and social" education are based on concepts of people's social needs rather than on educational criteria; and that the lower rates of pay

[1] Ref: Report on Training of Adult Education and part-time Further Education Teachers; Advisory Committee on Supply and Training of Teachers (March 1978).

accorded to part-time teachers validated by this Panel have reflected quite clearly the attitude that somehow their work was not equivalent to the proper "top drawer" education going on elsewhere.)

2. The setting up by the ILEA Training Unit at the City Lit., of the "Adult Education as a Community Resource" seminars, which began in 1976, initiated by one of the members of the CEWs' group, the series was originally established "in response to the expressed needs for staff of adult education institutes to consider together the practical implications of 'community education' – including demands on resources, style of provision, over-all often policy and so on. Community Education workers often seemed to be thrashing these things out among themselves, but less often with colleagues".[2]

   This course, which has continued to run over the last five years, has developed as an opportunity for staff of adult institutes with administrative and teaching responsibilities to look at the theory and practice of "outreach", with workers who have a specific brief for community education.

3. The Development of ACSTT I and II

   (a) ACSTT I

   During 1978–79 the ILEA set up its first four pilot schemes for the in-service training of part-time tutors, which embraced the entire Inner London area; and the CEWs' group, concerned at the apparent haste with which the whole exercise was being carried out, establishing structures which, although intended as experimental, seemed to have quite definite long term implications, produced a paper[3] "In-Service Training – an alternative proposal", written by two of its members. This discussed ways of ensuring an effective consultation process leading to an effective pilot scheme. A major strand in the CEWs' thinking was that ways should be found of involving entire staff teams in Institutes in preliminary consultations about in-service training, and in any eventual training schemes set up, so that their accumulated experience could be made available to potential trainees. These, and certain other proposals, relating chiefly to ensuring that the plans were soundly-based, and that those who took part would not be penalised through loss of earnings for doing so, were discussed with the Inspectorate; and two representatives of the CEWs' group were invited to attend the meetings concerned with the setting up one of the pilot schemes, namely that in the South West region, which was still being planned at the time these consultations were held.

   (b) ACSTT II

   The efforts of the group to contribute a serious "outreach" view, and influence the proposals for the second, module-based phase of the ACSTT In-Service training programme met with little success. In the initial ILEA proposals for Phase II, community education was presented as one of a range of subjects in which ILEA part-time tutors could specialise, as they might specialise in mainstream subjects such as dress and craft; and the group was invited to assist in the planning of this community education module. It was, however, unanimously agreed by the CEWs' group that the notion of community education as identical in kind to other mainstream subjects contained a very fundamental fallacy; because, in fact, it was not an individual, specialised subject, but basically, an *approach* based on a *philosophy* which should affect the way in which all subjects were taught.

[2] From notes of a meeting held at County Hall on 28.4.76.
[3] Written by Nell Keddie and Dave Bennett.

A paper[4] was produced developing this theme, emphasising the group's view that Stage II should be used to stimulate debate about student-centred adult education, and proposing a draft curriculum to be discussed with intending course members, which would introduce perspectives from ILEA outreach experience into all specialist subject modules. The workers who wrote this document met the staff who were planning the second phase of the ACSTT scheme for ILEA, but felt that the points they were trying to make were simply not grasped; furthermore, plans for a community education module in ACSTT II were dropped.

ILEA SUPPORT AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR CEWs PRIOR TO THE AYLESBURY PROJECT

1. *Advisory Unit for Community Education*

Just as ILEA in-service training for community education workers remained a relatively neglected area throughout the 1970s, the lack of any attempt to provide advisory-tutor support, parallel to that made available within the Service to subject teachers, seems a strange omission, in view of the importance attached at policy level to the outreach experiment.

A proposal was put by the group to the Inspectorate in 1977, that advisory tutors should be appointed from among the CEWs to (a) collate information on how the finance allocated by the Authority to outreach was spent and monitor its effectiveness; (b) act as a sounding board/ counsellor for individual CEWs, co-ordinate their work and create links between them; (c) arrange in-service training activities.

At that time the suggestion met with a negative response, but now the argument is restated and elaborated in a proposal included in Part II of this Report.

2. *In-Service Training*

Two residential courses held at:

(a) Stoke D'Abernon	25 – 27 March 1977
(b) Avery Hill	11 – 14 June 1979

Early in 1976, the CEWs' group were actively attempting to define their own training needs. A first memo[5] prepared by a group in January, lists the various areas which group members felt they needed to work on, which fall broadly under the headings of: (a) the structure of ILEA, including sessions on development in a time of no financial growth; and the role of the Unions; (b) the role and training of ILEA community education workers; (c) interaction with community groups; and (d) adults learning.

As a result, at least two lengthy sessions were set up by the workers themselves – one on the structure of ILEA and a second on the philosophy of community education – in May/June 1976.

A second paper[6] produced in May by the group, sought in the longer term, a weekend conference which could be open also to anyone working in ILEA adult education institutes.

[4]Stage II Common Core : "Community Education" by Jill McBane, Maureen O'Reilly, Grania Palmer, December 1979.

[5]Notes of the meeting of the Outreach Workers Training Group 26 January 1976.

[6]Paper by the Outreach Workers' Training Group 18 May 1976.

Although the idea of a full-scale action-research project had yet to evolve, dissatisfaction at the standard, armchair-type conference was already being expressed, for the group came out against a conference which would "fall into us sitting and listening to others, rather than it being an opportunity for us to crystallise our own thoughts and experience on the subject" – the chosen topic being "adults learning".

The group proposed that the CEWs should take over a residential centre such as Wansfell, for a weekend, and organise a "do-it-yourself" conference, without outside "experts" being brought in. This notion of self-programming, which was eventually to feature so large in the Aylesbury Project, has obviously been central to the CEWs' thinking about in-service training, all along, reflecting in their approach to their own training, their commitment to the value of self determination. There was, moreover, a very strong feeling that students should be invited to take part.

A programme incorporating these ideas was developed by the CEWs as a proposal for the in-service conference then being planned by the Authority to take place at Stoke D'Abernon the following March (1977). But in discussion, it quickly became apparent that the Inspectorate view of the purpose of the conference was quite different,[7] envisaging it as an opportunity to bring together outreach workers and Institute Principals and Vice-Principals in dialogue in order to improve understanding of the outreach role and its potential. There was no question of including student participation.

Setting their reservations to one side, the group co-operated in preparing the programme for the Conference, along the lines set by the Inspectorate, and it seems to have had some limited success in further persuading the small number of Principals and Vice-Principals who attended of the value of outreach work.[8] However, the CEWs felt that any long term benefits were lost due to the total absence of any follow-up.

(b) *Avery Hill, 11–14 June, 1979*

To plan for the second residential conference, held two years later at Avery Hill, the liaising Inspector first met with the main group of CEWs and then with a representative working party. The CEWs by then becoming concerned about the way in which their position seemed to be seen increasingly as peripheral to the major work of the adult education institutes, wanted to concentrate their attention on the role of the community education work in ILEA strategy, asking if Bill Devereux, the architect of the ILEA outreach experiment, could be persuaded to discuss its origins and whether he considered it had been a success; and the group also wanted time to work on a job description.

An extensive three-day programme was planned, but the thrust of this central issue became lost, with yet another "armchair" conference resulting and a substantial number of visiting "experts" arriving and departing throughout. The minutes of the regular meeting of CEWs following the Conference, recorded that "it was felt that although the group had been consulted about the programme, the Conference had been disappointing because on the whole it simply repeated the discussions which had always gone on". It was suggested that in future, the group might wish to set up its own conferences/training sessions.[9]

Thus, when proposals were made, the following Spring, for a combined action-research/ in-service training project, in which self-programming would play a large part, the idea was cautiously welcomed as a new departure from a style of in-service training which, in the end, had been considered only minimally productive.

[7] Minutes of Outreach Workers Meeting 5 November 1976.
[8] Minutes of Outreach Workers Meeting 1 May 1977.
[9] Minutes of ILEA Community Education Workers' Meeting 22 June 1979.

Chapter 2

ACTION RESEARCH AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING: GETTING THE PROJECT DESIGN RIGHT

As already indicated in the previous section, the CEWs chiefly required of the Aylesbury Project that it should involve (a) action research (ie depart quite radically from the standard "armchair conference" notion of in-service training), and (b) that it should be self-programmed – ie that the workers involved should themselves set the aims and objectives, plan the detailed practical work and modify the programme as it unfolded; and finally summarise their findings in their own report to the Authority.

In order to fulfil these two requirements effectively, a quite complex organisational network had to be established, relating

(a) the central staff of the ILEA adult education service based at County Hall;
(b) the host Institute, both Principal and staff team;
(c) the project workers;
(d) the local (Borough) authority and health service, particularly as represented by the staff of local departments;
(e) key local agencies and individuals;
(f) the people on the Estate.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the network which was developed to create a piece of self-programmed action research within the constraints of the employing Authority's in-service training programme; and to clarify the decision-taking process which determined the course of the Project.

1. *Consultations between Inspectorate and Project Director*

Jim Anders refers in his Introduction to the initial decisions taken in consultation with the ILEA Inspectorate about the status and conduct of the Project. It was important to its successful development that it should be accepted by the Inspectorate as belonging authentically within the Authority's In-Service training programme. This was necessary to mobilise the resources ordinarily associated with recognised ILEA in-service courses: project members were able to involve themselves with the Aylesbury Estate during their regular work time, and to claim their travelling expenses; and some resource back-up was made available – payment for visiting speakers, a room to work in on the Estate with associated clerical help and use of telephones; and the facilities at Avery Hill College for the follow-up conference in the Autumn. Even more significantly, Inspectorate recognition meant that insights arising from the Project would belong squarely within the context of the Authority's experience of in-service training, and would be available to influence its further development.

Moreover, arising as it would from "home grown" action research, the Project Report could encapsulate the thinking about ILEA outreach policy which has gone on over several years by a

number of workers who have been employed to implement it; and to this extent, the findings should have additional significance for the Authority.

2. *Consultations between the Director and local authority departments, the police, local voluntary organisations*

During the weeks leading up to the Project, the plan was discussed by Jim Anders with the Director of Social Services for Southwark and members of his staff based on the Estate, the local home-school liaison worker, senior police officers and the monthly co-ordinating meeting for local social and community workers. Additionally, a letter giving dates and outlining the purposes of the Project was circulated to all local departments and organisations considered to have an interest.

This round of information-giving and consultation began the process which would be developed by the Project members during their weeks on the Estate, and was necessary (a) because of the background information these local workers could supply; and, moreover, the Project would explore the possibility of inter-agency partnerships which could be developed subsequently. (b) It was also considered important to begin to build the credibility with local departments and organisations, of the new Southwark Adult Education Institute, which was about to emerge from the amalgamation of three local adult education institutes serving the Borough; and from this point of view, the Project could be used as a valuable public relations exercise. (c) In addition, there was a pressing need to restore local confidence in the adult education service, which had dwindled seriously in recent years, and these initial consultations could be seen as the beginning of this process.

3. *The role of the Director in relation to the Project Workers*

(a) The twin role of Jim Anders as Project Director and Principal of the adult education institute hosting the Project were inter-related in relation to the Project and the Project workers, and both roles were important for the success of the scheme.

(i) As has already been noted, as Project Director and intermediary between the Inspectorate and Project members, he had the status to take management responsibility for the Project, and was able to act as a channel for some ILEA in-service training resources to be made available to the Project, not least the use of Avery Hill College for the eventual follow-up conference, three months later.

(ii) As one of ILEA's Principals, he himself was also able to allocate some small resources to the daily running of the Project – eg each group had a float of £25.00 to cover working expenses.

He was also able to release David Boak, on attachment to his Institute for one year from the British Council, to provide a research back up. David devoted several weeks to preparing the ground for the Project workers, including compiling a profile of the Estate, making a number of initial contacts and briefing the Project workers on his findings before they began work.

But even more importantly, as the Project Director was also Principal-Designate of Southwark Institute, which would receive the Project recommendations, the workers were able to feel confident that any proposals arising from their work would meet with a receptive ear and sympathetic consideration. Without this element, and without the attendant guarantee that adequate tutor hours and other resources would be made available to implement their recommendations, the Project would have been an academic exercise only – which few workers would have been motivated to join.

(b) Because of the key significance of the self-programming element in the design of the Project, having taken the management responsibility and set the context, Jim Anders then

delegated his responsibility for planning to the community education workers themselves, and worked through two team leaders appointed by Project members, Sally Nicholls and Dan Taubman, who co-ordinated the work of the two teams and maintained his links with them throughout.

4. *The team leaders*

The responsibility for most of the organisation of the practical detail of the Project fell to the two team leaders, who acted as Secretariat, and worked in full consultation with Project members, keeping in touch with the Director to inform him, seek his advice and communicate decisions to him, as the need arose.

Their work included the preliminary briefing of David Boak on the information needed in the area profile; convening of team meetings, arranging meetings with outside agencies; taking responsibility for all practical arrangements during the two Project weeks; acting as a focus for the work of the two teams, and arranging for the duplication and circulation of the diaries and reports produced by the Project workers; and the organisation of follow-up.

They also met with Nell Keddie of the London University Extra Mural Department in order to clarify the approach to the Project. At their initial meeting, the importance of the distinction between the action research and in-service aims of the Project became clear, and the problem of dovetailing the workers' personal individual agendas with the over-all action research purposes of the work. This clarification was fed into the discussions during the two Project Weeks and to some extent governed how the Project developed.

5. *The Project Members*

In order to fulfil the "self-programming" requirement, the CEWs were consulted closely about the design of the Project from the outset, eventually setting their own aims and objectives, and thereafter taking full responsibility for the way it developed.

The main features of Jim Anders' initial proposal were:

(a) that such a Project could offer CEWs an opportunity for mutual support, personal reflection, professional refreshment and a clear view of possible future development at a time of change and upheaval.
(b) The Project would emphasise an extensive practical application of theoretical concepts.
(c) Workers with acknowledged success in running educational programmes for local people in several major areas of interest should lead teams of less-experienced workers in looking into latent and expressed needs, and consider the resources available and their deployment to meet those needs.
(d) A time-schedule including two days' preparation, a block of time arranged by the workers themselves spent on the Estate, followed by two days for collating proposals, and a short residential course to discuss the draft of a final report.

This proposal was discussed at the CEWs' regular meetings held during February, March and April 1980, both by the workers themselves and also with the Project Director present.

Once the broad outlines had been agreed, a working party[10] met to set the aims and objectives for the Project, as follows: (it will be seen that these aims and objectives dovetail the action research and in-service training purposes of the Project)

[10] Notes of Adult Working Party Meeting 25 April 1980.

(a) *For the people on the Aylesbury Estate*

An assessment of expressed and unexpressed educational needs plus proposals for structures to meet those needs.

(b) *For Frobisher Institute*

To supplement the traditional programme of classes by: looking at both explicit and implicit needs; by finding out who are the key people and what are the local networks and facilities; by documenting relevance points, and to make proposals for a structure on which it is possible to base an adult education programme.

The purpose would be to suggest a structure rather than to deliver a service – a framework for future development in the Aylesbury and neighbouring estates in the next one to ten years.

And to look at the in-service training needs of part-time tutors called on to work in off-site situations like the Aylesbury.

In short, the project would provide for Frobisher an intensive short cut to develop a programme in a way which would otherwise take several years.

(c) *For Adult Education/Community Education*

The production of a report in order to share findings, insights about methodology. A refinement of the community education concept.

(d) *For the participating CEWs themselves*

(i) Mutual support: the opportunity to work together in teams.
(ii) To examine and consider the effectiveness of our own practice.
(iii) Refreshment and wider experience; development of new skills, different perspectives from working in a new setting. Challenge to pre-conceived assumptions.
(iv) Growth in confidence in working with new groups and other agencies.
(v) Growth in understanding of in-service training needs of part-time tutors; matching the tutors to the situation.

Two Project weeks were settled upon: 16–20 June and 7–11 July, and the two Convenors appointed for the teams, also acting as Secretariat. It was also agreed that teams should be drawn up from the preferences for particular weeks expressed by those who wanted to take part, and should then meet to plan their own work.

Each Project team met twice on the Estate prior to starting work, to consider their approach. The first meeting of each team was briefed by David Boak on his findings in preparing the area profile; and each team was brought up to date on the round of consultations which were simultaneously being carried out as a back-up to the Project; and on practical arrangements – where the two teams were to be based, plans for the sessions to be run by Dr Tony Gibson and Ruud Van der Veen, the two visitors whom the Project Director had invited to contribute an input to the Project.

Details which had to be settled in the preliminary meetings were:

[a] the relationship between the work of the two groups. This eventually evolved in the course of events, when it had become clear what it was possible to achieve during the first week. In the event, Team "A" began a visiting programme and general survey of the educational and allied provision on the Estate, based on the preliminary groundwork which had already been carried out and in the compilation of the area profile. Team "B" concentrated on following up leads identified by their colleagues, and filled in some of the more obvious gaps in what had already been done.

[b] Recording. The importance of keeping a record of the two weeks was appreciated from the outset, to assist in assessing the work carried out, to help identify what had been achieved, and the remaining gaps, to provide the basis both for discussion on the theoretical implications of the work and also the report which would eventually be drafted. It was agreed that each worker should keep a diary of his/her daily programme for this purpose, including personal impressions and reflections.

[c] Plans for follow-up. The Project workers were especially concerned that conclusions reached in consultation with local people, and undertakings given during the two project weeks on the Estate, should be properly followed through and that activities established as a result should be adequately resourced; and they sought, and were given, Jim Anders' assurances on this score.

They also wanted reassurances that any community education activities set up consequent to the Project should be properly integrated into the work of the local adult education institute. One weakness they felt, in the structuring of the programme, had been the lack of involvement of local institute staff from other disciplines at the planning stage.

A meeting was arranged for Project workers to discuss their plans with the staff group of the Frobisher Institute, of which Jim Anders was Principal, and which would eventually become one of the constituent Institutes in the new Southwark AEI. But in view of impending re-organisation, this staff group in itself was unable to give any definitive commitment to following up the Project findings.

[d] Specialisms. As has been noted, in the original proposal circulated in the Spring, it had been suggested that workers who had developed particular specialist areas of experience in community education (multi-ethnic, women's parental education etc) should lead small teams of less experienced workers in surveying the Estate. This plan, however, was abandoned after discussion because (a) the numbers involved in the Project were not large enough, and (b) in any case, for the purposes of the Project, all the members preferred to regard themselves as "generalists" rather than experts. (Subsequently it was agreed that the prospect of being exposed professionally to one's colleagues in this unprecedented way created feelings of vulnerability, and Project workers preferred to regard themselves as learners together.) (c) Several said they welcomed the opportunity to consider some *other* aspect of adult education than the one in which they were normally involved.

Also, in so far as existing specialisms within the group related to particular existing preconceptions about "need" – work with mothers and toddlers, with tenants' associations, retired people and so on, it was agreed that if the design of the action research was based solely on them as a framework, it would predetermine the outcomes to a very large extent.

Having abandoned the areas of need as a basis for surveying the Estate, the Project team covering the first week divided up into pairs to work geographically, knocking on one in ten doors to talk with residents about their perceptions of the Estate, and their views about local adult education provision. The group decided against the use of a formal survey questionnaire, because they wanted their interviews to be very informal and open ended, to allow exploration of issues which emerged, although they recognised that results of this kind of approach would be impressionistic rather than in any way "scientific".

At the same time as carrying out these interviews, using the area profile which had already been compiled, Project members worked out, in consultation with each other, their own programme of visits to local departments and community organisations, within a general framework of (a) which visits would most usefully add to the sum total of information and views already collected; and (b) what particularly interested the worker concerned.

In the second week, the team (which was considerably smaller than its predecessor) considered the report of the first week's visits, and built its programme around amplifying and adding as necessary to the information collected earlier, as well as continuing with interviews with the residents of blocks of flats which had not been covered in the first week.

In-Service aspects

Bearing in mind the in-service needs of Project members, both teams spent some time in identifying what the workers considered to be their personal agendas for the two weeks' work. These broadly revolved around (a) the opportunity to share a training experience with colleagues; (b) the opportunity to consider adult education provision on a large estate; and (c) the opportunity to explore other aspects of adult education than those in which they were regularly engaged. Reference should be made to the Section on the workers' personal evaluations for an indication of the extent to which they felt their personal aims and objectives were achieved by the Project.

Being numerically stronger and less fragmented than the second weeks' team, those involved in the first week of the Project were able to meet regularly for discussion between 10 and 11 am each morning, to consider what was emerging from each day's work, and how it should affect subsequent activity; and how it related to such theory as existed about community education. A particularly useful meeting was held over lunch on Wednesday, when some quite clear divisions between philosophies held by team members became apparent – revolving around the issue of whether the prime aim of community education was to give people opportunities to enhance their lives; or to encourage them to question the circumstances governing them and to work for social change.

As has already been noted, team A received three visiting speakers: Dr Tony Gibson, from the Education for Neighbourhood Change Project at Nottingham University, who discussed the development of neighbourhood planning packs, and ways of involving local people in local planning decisions; Mrs Mary Monteith of Guy's Health Education Department, formerly a health visitor on the Aylesbury, who some years previously had carried out a survey of the incidence of depression on the Estate; and Mr Ruud van der Veen who described the community education project based on the University of Nijmegen, in which he worked.

On reflection, the team members considered that the sessions run by Tony Gibson and Ruud Van der Veen, although generally useful, might have been better arranged outside the Project weeks, which would have avoided taking up time which could have been more usefully spent on the Estate. The workers recommended that the time devoted to outside visitors in the second week should be reduced to a minimum, and this was carried out.

The personal diaries and reports of all visits made during the Project weeks are filed with Project papers at Southwark Adult Education Institute (Extracts appear in the appendices to this Report).

Follow-up

Both groups met with the Project Director after their week's work, and two of the immediate recommendations made during these reporting-back sessions were implemented very quickly; namely that (a) a Head of Centre post with outreach responsibilities should be included in the staffing proposals for the amalgamated Southwark Institute, which were currently under discussion; and (b) that pending this appointment being made, links should be strengthened at once between the proposed headquarters of the new Institute and the Estate, in order that contacts made during the Project could be effectively maintained. In order to achieve this, during the term following the action-research weeks, Sally Nicholls, in her capacity as CEW for the local Institute, was based on the Estate with a holding brief.

(Developments on the Estate during the year which has elapsed are discussed elsewhere in this Report)

Members of both teams met at Avery Hill College from 4–6 November for reflection on the Project. During these two days Nell Keddie led some further discussion on the theory of community education based on the concepts of the "providers' model" and the "users' model"

(see Part II of this Report) and a skeleton plan for the preparation of the Report was worked out.

A small group of Project workers visited Denmark with the Project Director in February 1981 to draw comparisons with provision there, and some notes on their visit appear in Part II.

The appointment to the staff of the new Southwark Institute of Dan Taubman as Head of Centre with special responsibilities for community education for Walworth (including the Aylesbury Estate), and Sally Nicholls as community education worker has meant that it has been possible to integrate the work on the Estate into the new Institute's programme, taking into account the insights and recommendations of the Project.

6. *The Project Report*

The production of a report of the Project was one of the objectives set by workers in the initial phases. This was necessary in order to:

(a) incorporate insights about adult education in Inner London gained on the Estate, developing and clarifying the experience of the past ten years;
(b) make recommendations to both the host Institute and the ILEA;
(c) develop the CEWs' thinking about in-service training; and
(d) make a contribution from an ILEA perspective to the literature about community education.

A broad framework for the Report was set by Project members at Avery Hill. Sally Nicholls, one of the two team leaders, put it together, with frequent consultation and help from Dan Taubman, who also contributed major sections. Strong support was given by Evelyn Murray; and two other Project members, Kundry Clarke and Mike Cushman gave additional assistance.

Chapter 3

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED? A SUMMARY OF AGENCIES VISITED, INTERVIEWS CARRIED OUT DURING THE TWO WEEKS 16–20 JUNE, 7–11 JULY.

1. ***Over 120 interviews with local residents***

Bradenham — Launderette
Lunch Club
Tenants' Association

Representatives of Thurlow Lodge TA
Aylesbury TA
BACC TA

Parents at an open evening of Michael Faraday Junior School
Mothers at Surrey Square Infants School
Four senior pupils at Walworth School
1 Governor of Chaucer-Walworth AEI

Door-knocking on Chartridge, Bradenham, Wendover, Michael Faraday flats.

Interviews on walkways : Bradenham, Taplow and Northchurch,
Wendover, Latimer, Southborough House.

2. ***Visits to voluntary agencies, miscellaneous groups, commercial concerns***

Walworth and Aylesbury Community Arts Trust
Teenage Information Network
Brook Advisory Clinic
Hourglass Pub
Bunbury Playgroup
Aylesbury Playgroup
Whitefield Playgroup
Burgess Park Adventure Playground
Toy Library
plus unsuccessful attempts to contact churches, within the second week

3. *Discussions with staff of Statutory agencies involved with the Estate*

(a) *Borough of Southwark* :
- Housing Dept (Estate Office)
- Social Services Dept (Area Team)
- Lunch Club for elderly on Bradenham and sheltered housing scheme
- Aylesbury Day Centre – Receptionist
  - Occupational Therapists (Rehabilitation Unit)
  - Intermediate Treatment Officer

(b) *ILEA* :
- Divisional Office (Education Welfare Officer)
- Michael Faraday School (Headmaster, home/school liaison officer)
- Surrey Square Infants School (Headmistress)
- Southwark FE College ("Appendix 3" worker)
- Staff at Chaucer Walworth AEI
- Southwark Youth Office
- Southwark Careers Office
- Tutor Warden at Walworth School

(c) *Other* :
- Union Street Job Centre
- DHSS Unemployment Review Officers
- Aylesbury Health Centre – Nursing Officer
  - Health Visitor
  - GP Unit
- Northchurch Family Centre (ILEA/Southwark/ Intermediate treatment funded)
- Amersham Community Centre
- Aylesbury Joint Meeting (monthly meeting of local professional/community workers involved with the Estate)
- Ellison House Probation Hospital
- Carter Street Police Station (community policeman)

Chapter 4

RECOMMENDATIONS ARISING FROM THE PROJECT

(Note: All observations comments and recommendations included in this section relate to the local adult education service and its concerns *as the Project Workers found it in Summer 1980.* Readers should bear in mind that changes have taken place since then, sometimes directly as a result of the Project, sometimes in response to other influences.)

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE HOST INSTITUTE

General observations:

1. The ability/capacity of the host Institute to follow up/consider all recommendations, suggestions and requests thrown up by the Project depends very directly on what resources are available; and in the long term, raises the question of how far the Authority is willing to back any further Aylesbury-type projects with sufficient resources for adequate follow-up, and also to acknowledge the shifts in emphasis and style their findings may imply.

For the host Institute, the long-term effects of the Project must finally be evaluated in terms of (a) the nature and extent of curriculum change; (b) the effect on full-time and part-time staff; (c) the involvement of ancillary staff; (d) the effect on in-service training, both in content and style and (e) very significantly, the resulting change in the composition of the student body. (It may also be useful to consider these criteria in relation to the effect of such projects on the thinking and Inner London-wide practice of the Authority.)

2. The recommendations to the new Southwark Institute arising from the Project fall under three general headings, as follows:

(A) Recommendations, suggestions and requests relating to the specifically local work on and around the Aylesbury Estate;
(B) More general recommendations and suggestions relating to the programme development of the local Institute over its whole area; and
(C) General observations and recommendations about policy, style of work.

(A) *Recommendations specifically relating to the Local Work on and around the Aylesbury Estate*

1. Our views on the Estate when we began work were coloured by a certain pessimism which we later acknowledged was partly engendered by a reading of existing research reports on the area. On reflection, we suspect that there is a danger of certain areas getting an inflated reputation, perhaps because of their size and visual appearance, which attracts researchers (perhaps to the neglect of smaller, less well-known areas where such work is even more important); and their pessimistic tone related to the facts that:

(a) they had gone into the Estate to look for and investigate particular problems – eg depression, school refusal;
(b) the responses recorded in their research were likely to be the result of years of frustration for the respondents;
(c) it is reasonable to suppose that people's feelings about the Estate would differ to some extent in Summer, when our study took place, from those at other times of the year, particularly the Winter.

For, many of the people we interviewed liked living on the Estate, and we found a fair degree of continuity among families who had lived in Walworth over a long period, and who felt committed to the area. Others said they liked their flats very much, although they admitted to being less happy about the general environment of the Estate, and we did discover a generalised reluctance to go out on the Estate at night; and among elderly people, some fear of opening their doors after 4.30 pm. (In this context, it is interesting to note the comment of two of our workers: "Our impression of the Aylesbury in the evening was totally different from the day-time – lots of people, (mostly young) out on the walkways, skateboarding etc. Neighbourly atmosphere". We recognised however that this was the impression of a single Summer evening, and, as already noted, things could feel entirely different in Winter.)

That violent incidents do occur fairly frequently on the Estate is beyond dispute, and on a number of occasions, these were described to us by people we interviewed. As neutral observers, however, we were aware of the way in which a certain low level of violence, vandalism and so on fuels people's imaginations and helps to create an atmosphere of hostility and fear, especially among the old and the vulnerable. These fears, *especially about going out at night, obviously have to be recognised in devising an adult education programme relevant to the needs of local people*[11] and should probably influence the nature of the adult education contribution to the development of local cable radio, which is currently being planned.

Because of lack of up to date statistical information, it is impossible to know precisely the nature of the cultural mix on the Estate, but our impression was that it mirrored many similar communities in South East London, with a majority of white (including Irish) families, some West Indian, and a smaller number of families from other communities, including Asian and Turkish/Greek/Cypriot. We did not discover any evidence which suggested that overt or unconscious racism is more or less prevalent on the Aylesbury than anywhere else in the country, but we did experience a number of reports of racist comments and behaviour, and some initial thoughts about this appear in our recommendations to the host Institute relating to its policy and style of work, and in our recommendations to the ILEA.

It is significant for the development of an appropriate adult education programme for the Aylesbury that we gained the impression, which was repeatedly reinforced, that local people do not regard the Estate *as a whole* as their local geographical community, but relate to particular blocks of flats, or groups of blocks, and also to some of the little side streets on the margin. *We therefore feel that the best approach would be to establish a strong low-key presence, with an emphasis on service delivery, to build up trust and confidence, building on small local groups rather than making estate-wide initiatives.* (In this context, current developments in the educational home visiting scheme on the Aylesbury are entirely within the general guidelines we propose. Ed. December 1982).

In an Estate where relationships with the local Adult Institute had largely broken down, we believe that it is important to rebuild the kind of service which will demonstrate to people that it is on their side, and we therefore also emphasise the need for competence and efficiency, with a minimum of bureaucratic fuss.

There seems to be a lack of co-ordination between statutory departments and Local voluntary groups serving the Estate, and adult education could play a key role in this area.

[11]See paper on *Fears of Violence: An adult education response* in Part II.

The Project convinced us of the value of regular door knocking campaigns to meet people living locally, and we feel there is a paramount need for good publicity, although we are well aware, as things stand, of the almost total absence of resources to develop good public relations.

2. We recommend the appointment of a CEW/Head of Centre for the Aylesbury to develop the work there and on neighbouring Estates.

3. Walworth School

(a) The relationship between the youth tutor warden and the Adult Education Institute who work in adjacent rooms at the Walworth School seems to have reached an all time low when the AEI closed a badminton class due to lack of support, even though the tutor warden in the room next door knew of a number of local girls in their teens who wanted to play.

We consider that priority should be given to the co-ordination of youth service and adult education provision at Walworth School to ensure optimum use of facilities there.

(b) A recurrent suggestion throughout our visits to professional workers (especially those involved in work with teenagers) was for a drop-in centre for people of all ages at Walworth School, where classes could be provided as demand became apparent. We think the community education centre model is a useful one – ie where people pay a membership fee to join the centre, and then additionally take part in activities which interest them.

4. Co-operation with other agencies/organisations working on the Estate

(a) Walworth and Aylesbury Community Arts Trust

WACAT, which employs a team of nine workers engaged in a variety of activities, including community arts and media work, also aims to play an educational role on the Estate. We consider that within this latter remit there was further ground to be explored, where partnership with the local Adult Education Institute could be valuable.

They have made a number of requests for tutor/creche hours, but we feel strongly that the basis for this provision, and priorities, need to be established.

It is recommended that the Institute should open discussions with the team developing Walworth Cable Radio, about its involvement.

(b) Aylesbury Day Centre

The rehabilitation officers at the Day Centre have encountered a demand for English as a Second Language from some patients.

The Intermediate Treatment Officer for Southwark, based at the Day Centre, considers that Institute involvement in the existing family workshops held there, would extend their scope. He also emphasises the need for preparation for work/job skills courses, which should be explored, preferably in discussion with the "Appendix 3" worker at Southwark College, and the Youth Officer for the Borough.

(c) Michael Faraday Junior School

Several adult education classes are already being run in the school, but we recommend further discussions about the development of this programme in co-operation with the Head Teacher, staff and parents, since we were greeted with very positive attitudes towards working in partnership. Family workshops, a community history project, to link the young with older generations were particularly mentioned.

(d) Other organisations interested in joint activities

BACC (tenants association) chairperson and secretary said they would appreciate help in establishing an arts and crafts group. They said they have adequate accommodation in their tenants association room.

Burgess Park Adventure Playground staff said they could do with help in finding a good outside space which is fenced off, or an adequate alternative site for their playground.

The organisers of the Lunch Club on Bradenham were interested in exploring joint activities, as were representatives of Thurlow Lodge TA.

5. Various spaces around the Estate were identified as possibly available to accommodate adult education activities.

Health Centre: Kitchen area and hall at the Centre could be available for adult education use on an occasional basis. The Nursing Officer and Health Visitor said they were willing to have classes at the Health Centre during Clinic hours.

Bradenham: Room space where Lunch club for elderly meet not used at other times of day.

Bunbury Playgroup: Possibility of opening craft workshop in adjacent space.

One O'Clock Club: Offered big rooms, not used, but heated. The supervisor also mentioned an old house in Coburg Road, where mothers meet, and where accommodation could possibly be made available.

St. Peter's Hall, Villa Street/Merrow Street: ILEA premises used for school dinners but not, so far as we could ascertain, in the evenings.

6. Various local people to be followed up by sending further information were listed throughout the daily reports of the workers. A few offered their skills eg a woman who was prepared to demonstrate flower arranging, a man who was interested in helping to build up motor mechanics/ bike maintenance/motor bike workshops. In the context of the whole project we need to consider how we treat these positive offers of resources. (See also *Recommendations to the ILEA* where this is further discussed.)

7. A number of sites were identified and listed as local points for advertising.

8. A number of suggestions for educational activities were made by professional workers we visited who worked on the Aylesbury. While these are listed under proposed areas for consideration in relation to the development of the adult education programme for the Estate, it should be

borne in mind that they may have general relevance for the work of the Institute elsewhere in Southwark.

It should also be acknowledged that these were suggestions passed on by professional workers, and raise the important question, for practice, of how far needs perceived by local professionals actually reflect the real education needs/wants of the people living on the Estate, and whether the perceptions of local people about their educational needs agree with those of the professionals. The quality of communications and interchange between the paid workers and the local population needs to be examined, in this context, and how the workers formulate what they see as wanted in the situation. (This may also apply to the community activist whose views we accept as representative of local people.)[12]

Parent Education was a recurring theme – parent/teenager relationships; jobs and careers, to enable parents to advise their children more realistically; but we question how far the parents themselves see participating in adult education activities as a way of meeting their interest in these topics. Parents' evenings in schools might have some success. Otherwise, we consider that a great deal of preparatory groundwork would have to be carried out to 'sell' activities related to these subjects. Groups for single teenage mothers on the Estate, especially on budget cookery and nutrition were also suggested and we felt this well worth pursuing.

Other specific areas mentioned were:

(a) Motor mechanics/bike maintenance/motor bike workshops (the establishment of these activities would obviously depend on finding the right premises, and co-ordinating with other similar activites on the Estate would be essential).

(b) Art/painting/pottery; it was felt it might be worth experimenting in these areas to see if interests begun at school could be revived and developed.

(c) Drama – especially for teenage girls.

(d) A discussion group enabling residents, especially parents and families, to discuss the role of the police and police/public relationships on the Estate; though some hard thinking is necessary about what form this should take. A parallel formula might be worked out for a forum involving local residents in discussion with Councillors, Head Teachers, local authority management and others.

(e) A second-hand clothes exchange was suggested as useful. In adult education terms, we thought this might be translated into a dressmaking course – "alterations to your neighbour's clothes"!

(f) There was general agreement that the degree of commitment to the Walworth area we met with, suggested a potential for local history groups.

(g) It was observed that there appeared to be some very keen gardeners on the Estate, with balconies, window boxes and small garden plots. This suggested room for initiative by TAs, prizes for best gardens etc. Interest in gardens, plants, cuttings could possibly lead to classes or a local informal group.

(B) *Suggestions thrown up by the Action-Research Project for Programme Development throughout the whole institute area (ie not only on the Aylesbury Estate)*

1. Co-operation with other agencies/organisations in the Borough

(a) *Southwark College of Further Education*
The Principal and "Appendix 3" worker ask to see the Project Report once it is available and propose a joint meeting with the AEI to consider its short and long-term implications and co-operation between the two bodies.

[12] See also paper on *The Unease of the Outreach Worker* in Part II

(b) *Southwark Careers Office Staff* would like to see the AEI involved with themselves and local employers in a unified scheme of vocational preparation eg teenagers going on day release to develop communications skills and numeracy. They also attach a great deal of importance to the possibility of parent education, since they feel that parents are completely out of touch with current developments in industry and commerce and are therefore unable to help their children to plan realistically. They would like to see educational activities related to the current situation in employment, and likely trends (eg the effects of the developments in micro electronics); the factors young people need to consider when seeking a job or career; and practical and job seeking skills.

They would be interested moreover in developing a close relationship with the AEI to help 17 year olds in need of literacy skills; and would welcome joint discussions with the schools sector about educational activities for teenagers who have switched off from school education before reaching the statutory leaving age.

(c) *Teenage Information Network* expressed themselves interested in co-operating with the AEI in joint ventures but said they did not know how to go about it. (This reinforces the case, recently made in Southwark Institute, for a leaflet for local organisations giving guidelines for joint initiatives.) One of the sessions and short courses could be run on their premises, and they suggested legal and welfare rights, literacy and learning to live alone as priorities. They also feel that the educational needs of teenage girls are neglected.

(d) *The Unemployment Review Officers* at the DHSS Office in Kennington Park Road expressed great interest in the Project and wished to be kept informed of future developments.

2. The comments about the importance of parent education noted in Section A obviously have wider validity for the programme throughout the whole of the Institute's area. A number of specific suggestions for projects were made by local professional workers but consumer research would need to be carried out – perhaps among the Institute's existing parent groups – to see whether these suggestions met with any kind of response.

(C) *General observations and recommendations about policy, style of work*

1. As already noted, for the host Institute, the long term effects of the Project must finally be evaluated in terms of:

(a) the nature and extent of curriculum change, ie its impact on the content and style of delivery of the Institute's programme; and the extent to which curriculum changes are self governed by the users;
(b) the effect on full-time staff;
(c) the involvement of ancillary staff;
(d) the effect on in-service training, both in style and content;
(e) the nature and extent of the change in the composition of the student body – where they live, ratios of male/female, attendance by ethnic minority students, how many on supplementary benefits and similar criteria, including changes in the student enrolment for particular activities.

We therefore recommend that the various policy making committees of Southwark Institute should consider the implications of the Project Report for further programme development.

2. The Community Education centre style of approach to work on local estates has been suggested as a valid model for the Aylesbury. Does this have implications for work on other

estates, in the Institute area as well? How can all adult education centres develop programmes and styles of work which reflect patterns of living in their own neighbourhoods?

3. Racism

(a) As noted earlier, there was absolutely no evidence to suggest that overt or unconscious racism is any more prevalent on the Aylesbury Estate than anywhere else in the country, and the following considerations apply to all adult education. (They will therefore also form part of our recommendations to ILEA.)

During the Project we met with a number of examples of racist remarks and behaviour, expressing hostility to minority racial groups or a determination to exclude them from a particular amenity. The remarks were made as between white people. But we were not a group of white workers talking and working only with white people; we have an obligation to all our colleagues and students.

It is significant that our black colleague reported interviews which started by disclaiming racial prejudice and then went on "but...". Her position during the week, and our responsibility as her colleagues, seem to us to need further examination.

If Adult Education staff are to develop local provision and comply with the requirement of the '76 Race Relations Act, they will need both training and support in recognising, responding to, and combating, racism. It is quite unacceptable to contemplate making use of organisations or individuals who express racist views (eg distributing publicity through a racist pub) unless workers have very clear and specific plans for tackling that racism. If it is simply ignored, then the adult education service will be condoning and perpetrating discriminatory practices.

The support necessary to enable black colleagues to offer their skills and particular insight into the adult education service is not yet a part of our general management practice and we would welcome further discussion of this.

(b) We consider that joint seminar with the staff of Southwark CCR and Southwark College might serve as a precursor for other seminars and discussions of community relations issues involving local community leaders, professional workers and police.

4. There seems to be a clear case for improving links with our colleagues in the Youth Service, even if only to enable better co-ordination in the allocation of ILEA resources. In one instance it became clear that both the local tutor warden and the Adult Education Institute were allocating significant numbers of tutor hours to the work of a single voluntary organisation, without the other knowing, and without any clear ranking of priorities, and possibly to the detriment of other less vocal voluntary organisations.

5. The workers involved in the Project were continually made aware of the paramount need for good publicity – attractive leaflets to hand to people to reinforce information given in an interview, eye-catching notices posted in strategic places, up to date information in local shops, strong links with local newspapers – all on the assumption that people cannot become involved in activities they know nothing about.

6. Finally, through working in a neighbourhood where relationships had largely broken down between the local Adult Education Institute and the population it was supposed to be serving, we are convinced of the need for building consumer confidence and trust in the service. It is important to see that the adult education service *is on their side* and we believe this can only be done if local institutes are seen to deliver their product efficiently with a minimum of bureaucratic fuss.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY

(A) *In-Service training for ILEA Community Education Workers*

It is clear that those who participated in the Aylesbury Project considered that as an in-service training exercise for community education workers employed by the Authority, the style of the Project was preferable to the conference-type training course.[13] Those of us who were involved valued the fact that it was largely self determining, used our existing knowledge and experience to good effect and helped us to develop our ideas further; and to work on the theory of community education, whose lack we have felt. It gave us an opportunity for some hard thinking, and the occasion for getting some of that thinking on to paper.

While reference should also be made, for the workers' personal evaluations, to the appropriate section of this report, some very specific comparisons were drawn between this type of action-research and previous in-service training patterns. The following are a selection of quotations from the participating workers themselves:

"In traditional conference in-service training, sitting around talking in small or large groups, and receiving contributions from visiting speakers who seem to be doing exciting things in other places, a worker's 'success' depends entirely on articulacy and verbal skills; whereas in a practical outreach situation, however articulate a worker may be, his or her success depends finally on the effectiveness of practical service delivery. The Aylesbury Project succeeded for me because it provided a laboratory situation to help us understand better, and make realistic appraisals of, the way in which we work, and to share understandings based on actual experience, rather than on what may be our own, or other people's, fantasies!"

"Theory-only sessions tend to promote self-laceration and sensations of isolation, and people depart from them feeling somewhat bereft. This type of activity has great potential for mutual support, critical re-appraisal and development linked to practice."

"Helpful and stimulating as a practical in-service training exercise and also valuable as a theoretical exercise. Preferable to luxuriously wasting and indulging two days sitting in an armchair."

"The common experience of working on Aylesbury provided a good base for much deeper discussion than we generally have time for ... we consider (it) to be a valuable prototype."

"I valued team contact ... opportunity for practical interchange about what worked ... grass roots experience with definite prospects of fulfilment".

"Excellent as action-research and far better than most in-service training".

"Despite any negative criticisms we may make, we strongly believe that the Aylesbury Project and its follow up session have achieved substantially more than other traditional form of in-service training for CEWs. The Avery Hill follow-up session was successful because it gave CEWs the opportunity to examine positively practice and concepts of community education brought to the surface through interaction on the Aylesbury Estate".

Future in-service training for CEWs

Post-Aylesbury, we consider that we need in-service training experiences to help us explore further, and develop:

(a) a common vocabulary of experience;
(b) a base of our own literature against which to measure future performance;
(c) opportunities to recognise and take advantage of the special skills and insights of colleagues;

[13] See *Workers' evaluations*.

(d) the exploration of new lines of development (eg in curriculum; tertiary re-alignments etc) so that we can present an informed view to the Authority; and
(e) links with the education field beyond the ILEA – national and international.

Such experiences should be given ILEA support in a form which indicates that the Authority recognises and takes seriously our contribution.

In accordance with the best historical insights of adult education, we believe that the Authority should encourage its outreach workers in future to focus up their own training needs and plan their own training programmes. We think that our in-service training should continue to have a strongly practical bias, while also including ample opportunity for reflection on the theoretical base. And as we are agreed that our work on the Aylesbury would have benefited from perspectives shared with colleagues engaged in closely allied work, especially literacy and ESL staff, it may well be that in future, joint projects would have advantages.

(B) *Action Research*

As action-research to assist the local Adult Education Institute in developing a curriculum more closely matched to local needs, the Project threw up a number of recommendations and suggestions (see section on recommendations to the host Institute), the significance of which it is up to others than us to evaluate – ie the people of the Aylesbury themselves, the Southwark Institute, the ILEA Inspectorate. We have, however, also come up with some ideas about criteria and means of evaluation, discussed elsewhere in this report.

If there are to be future action-research projects of the Aylesbury type, then we believe that *they should include opportunities for entire staff teams of local Institutes to get out together on to local estates*, perhaps for a fortnight in the Summer, bringing to bear the whole range of their knowledge and expertise to local adult education needs – this could (a) make them better known to local people, individuals and voluntary and statutory bodies; (b) give them the advantage of a more thorough understanding of, and familiarity with, one patch in their Institute's area; (c) raise staff morale, through working together as a team in a new situation; and (d) help individual members of staff to gain confidence through a fresh application of their skills. Institute teams willing to work in this way could be advised by ILEA community education workers acting in a consultant capacity, or by a community education advisory unit working from County Hall (see accompanying paper by Kundry Clarke and Dan Taubman on Advisory Teachers for Community Education).

Moreover, we believe that future "Aylesburys" must be planned not only in terms of benefits to the workers involved, and the host Institute, but also the capacity of the Authority to respond, with actual resources, to the ideas thrown up. It must be squarely faced that the exercise of going about interviewing people, explaining about the local adult education service, and asking them what they want, may result in them actually telling us! One of the likely outcomes of such a survey is that it will create new demands from individuals and groups wishing to use adult education resources. If sufficient resources are not forthcoming to match these demands, at least in part, it can only result in the Service being discredited in the eyes of would-be local consumers.

The other likelihood is that working in this way may suggest quite major re-thinking about the existing structures for delivering the adult education service, and if the Authority is to encourage further "Aylesburys" then it must also be willing at least to consider the changes they imply.

Our experience on the Estate crystallised our growing long term conviction that the ways in which we are required to work by the Authority often seem very ill-fitted to the realities of the actual Londoners we encounter.

As we understand it, the community education workers' brief from the Authority was to explore the broadly educational needs and wants of those resident in the Institute areas who did not use the adult education service, and to propose ways of resolving them. This, however, has always had to be in the Authority's own terms, as expressed through the Inspectorate and Institute management's value perspectives and the bureaucratic framework we work in. To meet requirements about fees, ratios, children in classes, panel qualifications and what are called "educational standards", CEWs have constantly had to bend the terms in which they accounted for what they were doing, hunting for loopholes in the system in order to make things happen. (And an additional twist to the problem is that the loopholes often differ from Institute to Institute, depending on the attitudes of the local management; so, for example, some CEWs have been able relatively easily to reduce fees to students where they considered it necessary, while others met unrelenting opposition and difficulty.)

The workers themselves have experienced considerable personal conflict in struggling to match the varieties encountered among local people with the pigeon holes and requirements worked out by the administration, since they have very often had formidable misgivings about the bureaucratic values on which these constraints were based. The tension has particularly been reflected in the long-running battle around the issue of "educational standards"– standards put forward by the Inspectorate as having universal application have been seen in the light of the CEWs' experience to be only very narrowly valid.

The mismatch between bureaucratic requirements and people's realities can be seen particularly clearly in the areas already mentioned.

1. Real people ask for women's self defence and disco dancing, because these relate very specifically to their own perceptions of their needs and interests.

If we have any sensitivity about Afro-Caribbean culture at all, we may appreciate in a small way the importance of dance as a means of personal self-expression.

Women's self defence may not be a genuine subject to the Inspectorate – it may be a collection of techniques including strategies for avoiding getting mugged on the way home in the evening; but it relates absolutely authentically to the harsh realities of life in the inner city, and it should not have to be judged in narrowly restrictive educational terms by the College of PE.

2. Real women want to bring their pre-school children along with them when they come to Institute classes in the daytime. They don't want to leave them alone in their homes, and many are unable to afford to pay for a minder.

The creche has over a long period been a marginal activity in many Institutes; the workers have been badly paid and neglected, and creche hours to pay them anything at all have been hard to come by.

If, as an alternative, children are brought into the classroom and arrangements made to give them a good experience as well, and at the same time their mothers are encouraged to work creatively with them, a whole barrage of administrative constraints begin to operate: is it possible to pay an extra worker to work with the children, and what does that do to class ratios? Should the children be counted as being present? Or not? Can the person working with the children be paid the same as the tutor, or is her work equivalent to that of a creche worker (and the pay differentials are considerable)? What effect does the presence of the children have on the educational standards of the work carried out in the class? Battles have had to be fought about the position of children in classes, and not only with County Hall, but with our colleagues too, who have frowned, and raised objections, and looked to County Hall and senior management to support them in their restrictive attitudes.

3. Real "resource" people in the community who can relate to their neighbours and teach them a thing or two, may not have strictly bona fide recognised educational qualifications,

though they may have considerable industrial/commercial/service experience over a number of years, and built up skills which they can share with other people. On the Aylesbury we met a woman who had worked for years as a florist and was interested in teaching her skills, but she had no City and Guilds qualifications or equivalent, and was also retired. How can the Authority respond to this kind of offer, which entails, in some senses, the community meeting its own needs? Could she have used a *room* in the local Adult Education Institute branch? Should she have been supported with teaching materials? Should the Institute have advertised her activities? At what stage would the Institute begin to feel responsible for the standard of the work she was doing? And if she had been very successful, should she not have been paid for her work?

4. Real local initiatives may start with only two or three people as a maximum, not 13.5. CEWs have had to hunt *for* loopholes to support small groups, and apologise for the small numbers in local groups seeking teaching, knowing very well that in some larger groups in their Institutes which have been running for years, real learning may have virtually ceased.

As it reflects on the findings of this and similar projects, the Service must continually ask itself whose side it is on; whether we wish to perpetrate administrative structures for their own sakes, or whether we should rather be searching out ways of introducing flexibilities to engage with the varieties of human experience encountered in Inner London.

As a possible model for further consideration in this context, *it may well be that the style of response developed by the ILEA Community Education Centres – small, strictly local in emphasis, and concentrating on building up management by local people – offers a greater flexibility in developing relevant local initiatives than more centralised large-scale structures.*

(C) *Inter Agency Relationships*

The Project also gave us the opportunity to consider the important question of the effectiveness of relationships developed by the adult education service and other agencies operating at a local level.

1. Relationships between local departments/agencies of ILEA

Attention has already been drawn in the recommendations to the host Institute to the fact that the links between the AEI and the Youth service employees on the Estate were almost a case-study in bad relations, with the consequent misallocation of resources already described. Even had these relationships been better, we still need to ask why a considerable proportion of tutor hours have in the past been allocated by the Institutes to work in the Borough with people in the age group served by the Youth Service.

AEI links with the infant and junior schools in the locality were a little better, partly due to the professionalism and application of the home-school liaison teacher on the Estate, but seemed almost non-existent, at a professional level, with local secondary schools, even though the headquarters branch of the Institute was housed in one of them! The same seemed true of relations with the ILEA Divisional Office.

Although the Careers Service and the Education Welfare Officers were certainly aware of the existence of the AEI, there appeared to be very little in the way of regular contact. There did seem to be more potential for understanding and joint activity with the local College of Further Education, possibly because both Adult Institutes and CFE's are engaged in the business of educating adults; and also because key staff in both institutions knew each other and had more regular contact with each other.

While the development of local relationships is obviously the responsibility of the Authority's local employees, this fragmentation seemed such a consistent characteristic of the ILEA network in the area that we found ourselves asking whether it featured elsewhere in the region served by

the Authority; and if so, we considered it highly likely that such a situation would only give rise to *a more than productive duplication and a less than optimum use of scarce resources, as well as a disappointing failure to co-operate in imaginative joint initiatives*. We also feel bound to ask whether the lack of co-operation at a local level reflects a similar failure in relationships within the Authority itself.

2. AEI relationships with statutory departments serving the Estate

Partly thanks to the efforts of one unsupported member of the full-time staff of the AEI who had appreciated the need to make links with key agencies on the Estate, without having the training or back-up to be able to develop them productively, a certain level of communication did exist between the Institute and some local organisations and departments; such communications had been fostered by her attendance at the Aylesbury Joint Meeting, a monthly forum to bring together paid workers employed in social and community work around the Estate. Through this channel and through her personal visits, certain links had been maintained with the Borough Intermediate Treatment Officer (based at the Aylesbury Day Centre), the workers at Northchurch Family Centre (funded by ILEA, Southwark Social Services, and the Intermediate Treatment Unit), local health visitors and the Social Services Area Office, as well as with local voluntary organisations such as the Walworth and Aylesbury Community Arts Trust (WACAT).

However, our disappointment has to be recorded over the lack of any real working relationships between the adult education service and the local Social Services area team. Undoubtedly the AEI's need to think more about how they explain themselves and their aims and methods to workers in local social services departments; but we formed a very strong impression of insularity within the local social workers' ranks, and a failure to develop any major lines of thought about the contribution of adult education to their work, or consideration of the possibilities offered by inter-agency partnerships.

3. Relationships with local voluntary organisations

(a) Confusions and tensions may arise where a local voluntary organisation is receiving grant aid centrally from the ILEA as well as tutor hours/resources allocated by a local Adult Institute, since the organisation has to operate a dual relationship with the Authority. County Hall and the AEI should keep each other informed of developments, and where appropriate, work out policy in co-operation with each other.

(b) Some local voluntary organisations engaged in broadly similar activities to the AEI (as with the Settlements and other agencies involved in literacy, basic education and community arts), may perceive the local Institute to some extent as a competitor, and feel threatened by the fact that it is comparatively firmly established and well-resourced. Where tutor hours/resources are allocated for use in partnership with a voluntary organisation, the Institute has to be sensitive therefore in undertaking its management responsibility for ensuring that the standard of educational activity and student numbers are maintained.

(c) One organisation we talked with wanted to develop joint activities with the AEI but did not know how to go about it, (see Recommendations to the Host Institute). Institutes should be encouraged to draw up clear guidelines for voluntary organisations interested in working with them; and to develop a working relationship wherever possible with local Councils of Voluntary Service in order to increase access by local voluntary agencies.

(d) Racism : We define racism as "any situation or practice which deprives a group of people, defined solely by race, of the benefits or responsibilities accorded to the rest of society."

> Although we have said that there is no evidence of more racism on the Aylesbury Estate than elsewhere in our society, we recognise that racism is endemic in the society as a whole. The contacts we made on the Aylesbury with the workers and with voluntary groups reflected the same bias as within our own service: that there is a preponderance of white staff and white interests and activities even in those organisations which had a significant minority membership (eg schools, intermediate treatment, the Day Centre).

White workers therefore need training in the following:

(1) Recognising and understanding racism at both personal and institutional level.
(2) Developing strategies to combat racism in ourselves, our colleagues and society at large.

These aims cannot be achieved without reference to colleagues and potential students who can check our understanding against their experience as members of racial minorities. The Adult Education Institutes therefore need:

(3) to appoint more staff with this experience, and to support them in using it, and
(4) to encourage all staff to undertake field work with minority groups with a view to meeting their educational demands, both by special provision, and by ensuring that the existing provision recognises and respects cultural diversity.

If (3) is to be fully achieved, the appointment of minority staff has to be reinforced by an undertaking from the AEIs that these staff will be supported when their perceptions do not accord with the status quo. If we accept that the existing situation in adult education has a strongly racist bias, then combating racism will involve changes of practice and procedure. A change of intention alone will not be sufficient.

In working for change, adult education staff will also need support from colleagues in other fields, and the possibility of joint developments with Southwark College of Further Education is valuable in this context. Efforts should also be made to work with other people who are concerned to meet the demands of multi-racial society.

The Adult Education Institutes, with the support of the Inspectorate should be encouraged to pursue the following issues:

(1) What is the racial mix in their existing programme and staffing?
(2) How does the existing provision discriminate in fact, if not in intention, against minority groups? (It would be necessary to consider enrolment procedures, policy on fees, time-tabling, creche provision, canteen provision etc. as well as syllabus, in this context.)
(3) Is publicity designed and directed towards minority groups?
(4) Do the Institutes have a statement of policy on multi-racial education to discuss with staff, students and the general public?

Chapter 5

PROJECT EVALUATION

(A) *Action research aspects: some guidelines for evaluation*

The impact of the Project may be evaluated by changes in the following areas:

(a) An increase in the proportion of students coming from the Aylesbury Estate and from other areas and groups in the population who have not made much use of the Institute before.
(b) A change in the way in which full-time and part-time staff work to develop the programme with potential students and with each other.
(c) The extent to which the content and style of the curriculum changes.
(d) The greater involvement of non-teaching staff in the educational process.
(e) Changes in the demand for and nature of in-service training.

Any evaluation would also need to assess how far any changes under these headings would have developed if the Project had not taken place.

PROJECT EVALUATION

(B) *In-Service Training: personal evaluations by Project Members*

As has already been noted, the aims and objectives for the In-Service component of the Project were defined by the participating workers themselves at the preliminary meeting on 25 April 1980.[14] Subsequently, thirteen of the sixteen project members completed a personal questionnaire which listed these aims, and asked them to rank each on a scale indicating which for them had been

completely achieved
substantially achieved
partly achieved
not achieved at all

The results were as follows:

1. *Mutual support – the opportunity to work together in teams*

completely achieved	–
substantially achieved	6
partly achieved	7
not achieved at all	–

[14] See section 2 : Getting the Project Design Right.

All agreed that this aim had been either partly achieved (7) or substantial achieved (6) for them. It was generally agreed that such limitations as had been experienced were due to:

(a) the fragmenting influence of outside pressures;

"there was a loss of continuity because of everyone's other commitments"; "non-achievement was due to external factors, such as (ILEA Adult Education) re-organisation".

(b) lack of time for joint preparation in the planning stages:

"Barriers should have been removed before the action week in order for there to be a true sharing of expertise" and "there was considerable support when inhibitions and preconceptions (had been) broken down and (we) became more confident in each other's responses".

This process could presumably have been assisted by more work together in the planning stages.

One project member also considered that "more exercises in working together this way would be useful, perhaps joint projects once a week for a term".

2. *To examine and consider the effectiveness of our own practice*

completely achieved	1
substantially achieved	7
partly achieved	4
not achieved at all	1 (no reasons given)

One worker who said "substantially achieved", felt that the "positive effect came out of vigorous debate combined with 'shop floor' practical research. I certainly had a clearer view of ... my role, as a result". Another wrote "through the talks and walkabouts, I picked up ideas which made me examine my own effectiveness ... subsequently some ideas were downgraded, some enhanced through my connection with other participating workers".

A recently appointed CEW considered that "perhaps there would have been wider perspectives on community education through participation of others not necessary in the community education field".

There was general agreement that the second part of the Project – the follow-up conference at Avery Hill – developed and completed the process of examining the practice of the CEW and considering its effectiveness. (It is incidentally noteworthy that the worker who ringed "Not achieved at all" did not take part in the Avery Hill Conference).

3. *An opportunity for refreshment and wider experience: a challenge to pre-conceived assumptions*

completely achieved	2
substantially achieved	8
partly achieved	3
not achieved at all	–

In this respect, the Project largely succeeded for the participating workers its main value being seen in

(a) the opportunity for sharing with colleague CEWs

"It was helpful to be able to open up ... to colleagues ... as to failures and disappointments".

"Aim substantially achieved ... through individual conversations with fellow CEWs"

(b) Opportunities to concentrate in new areas of work

"Very useful. I had not worked on a large estate before".

Another said she had found it valuable to be able to concentrate on the issues of unemployment with which she had been only marginally involved previously.

(c) The challenge to preconceived assumptions.

"It clarified for me how we so often work with preconceived assumptions which are largely unconscious eg a 'service orientated' approach in which we have to fit people's responses into the service constraints we are working with (tutor hours etc), and feel we (or they) have failed in some way if we don't match the two! We also go looking for pathology and disadvantage instead of community strengths and resourcefulnesses".

4. *Development of new skills, different perspectives from working in a new setting*

substantially achieved	4
partly achieved	7
not achieved at all	2 (no reasons specified)

It is noteworthy that there was a wide divergence of opinion on the extent to which this aim had or had not been achieved. For those who said they felt it had been partly/substantially achieved, the limitations of time seemed to be the main hindrance to the development of new skills – the setting was felt to be right, and new ideas and perspectives were around.

"Not enough time to develop new skills ... although ... the novelty of working with other colleagues certainly set the idea of different perspectives in motion."

"Not enough time for this, but I did get some new ideas and contacts and perspectives".

"With the help of the team leaders, the task was not so daunting and in the main proved enjoyable – I really felt I had learnt a lot about the area in a short time ... having to report back regularly was constructive, and for me a necessary discipline".

5. *Growth in confidence in working with new groups and other agencies*

substantially achieved	3
partly achieved	7
not achieved at all	3

Again, as with the last question, there was a divergence of view. Failure to achieve this aim seems to have been associated fairly obviously with lack of time.

"I think it takes time for this kind of confidence to grow". "I didn't think a week sufficient to-establish any sort of understanding with other agencies apart from making superficial, but useful, contact".

"Yes, but difficult not to slip back when you get back on your own – so much easier to see wider perspectives when there are more people and experience to draw on".

"I really felt we knew a lot more than most of the agencies we encountered; had a broader vision of community work and needs, and therefore had a lot to offer".

A worker new to community education said he would have welcomed much more briefing on the structures, policies and over-all attitudes of the organisations on the Estate.

6. *Growth in understanding of in-service training needs of part-time tutors; matching the tutors to the situation*

substantially achieved	3
partly achieved	5
not achieved at all	5

Significantly more felt this had only been partly achieved or not achieved at all than thought it had been substantially achieved (10:3).

"Further exploration necessary".

"The Project may have implicitly increased my understanding but I didn't think too much about this".

One worker thought that rather than developing an insight into specific techniques to match particular training needs, she felt afterwards she had grown in sensitivity towards the needs of part-time staff and appreciated how they must feel when confronted with off-site work, "It made me more conscious of the need to support tutors and put them in the picture – also not-to have unrealistic expectations of anyone".

SUMMARY

All of the Project members who completed the questionnaire agreed for various reasons that their involvement had been a valuable experience, several specifically mentioning that it had offered shared practical experience followed by an opportunity for joint reflection on the theoretical base and aims of outreach work. "The common experience of working on the Aylesbury provided a good base for much deeper discussion than we generally have time for at our meetings".

At least six said explicitly or implicitly that they felt their participation had increased their understanding of community education – the Project had helped to "clarify concepts and determine good practices", and some felt they had a clearer understanding of the theory as a result. It was generally agreed that these aspects had been neglected in the past and further work was needed on this particular area.

Two or three felt that, subsequent to the Project, they were doing parts of their own work better – one said she had been "questioning the value of all the projects I help run. This was very important because I discovered that the direction of several needed to be changed."

Although on reflection, some expressed reservations about the way in which the Project had been set up, and one said the experience had caused him to despair about the Authority's lip-service to the Community Education concept without thinking through and implementing all the implicit administrative and management changes, in order to ensure that it worked; several expressed the opinion that further such experiences would be welcome and necessary, most because of the personal insights and benefits they would bring to those involved. However, at least one felt that in-service training for CEWs needed to be developed in the interests of community education as a whole.

Workers' evaluation of input from outside speakers

(1) Dr Tony Gibson,		
Research Fellow, University of	1st week : Monday 16 June	2–5 pm
Nottingham School of Education	2nd week : Wednesday 8 July	10–12 noon

(Both of Dr Gibson's sessions were opened to other ILEA colleagues, and a small number of extra workers came)

(2)	Mrs Mary Monteith, Health Education Officer Guys Health District (Formerly a health visitor based at the Aylesbury Health Centre)	1st week only : Wednesday 18 June	10–12 noon
(3)	Mr Ruud Van der Veen, Senior Lecturer, University of Nijmegen, Department of Social Sciences	1st week only (though open to members of both project teams): Wednesday 18 June	2–4 pm
(4)	Nell Keddie London University Dept of Extra Mural Studies	Wednesday 11 June: discussion with leaders of Teams A & B. Friday 4 July: met members of both teams for discussion. Wednesday 5 November: led discussion session at Avery Hill follow up.	

When the sessions with Dr Gibson and Ruud Van der Veen were arranged, it was felt that Project members would welcome two short breathing spaces during their practical work to reflect on their experience, with the help of the visitors. In the event however, each team had a very crowded agenda, and almost all of the workers, stimulated by the rare opportunity for practical sharing with colleagues, considered that precious time on the Estate was lost in meeting visiting speakers, and that these sessions could equally well have been arranged as part of the preliminary briefing programme. So strongly did the workers in Week One feel this, that they recommended that outside input for their successors in Week Two should be reduced to a minimum, and only one session, which had already been arranged with Dr Gibson, was agreed.

There were considerable variations in the opinions of Project members on the value of the sessions arranged.

TONY GIBSON'S session, on information packs and neighbourhood planning, was felt to have had more in it for the less experienced workers involved in the Project. While one experienced worker wrote "My impression was that this speaker had substituted gimmickry and style for any rigorous self critique" (although he agreed that the material on planning packs was useful); someone newer to the work commented "A productive session! I found many of the practical points and techniques mentioned in his talk promising, and was surprised to find other more experienced professionals sceptical of the utility of these techniques".

RUUD VAN DE VEEN described the community education project in which he was involved at the University of Nijmegen, which used a Marxist theoretical base without being in any way propagandist in its outreach approach. The workers chiefly commented on Ruud's contribution in connection with Tony Gibson's.

"The weakness of the theoretical basis for community education was highlighted during the week in group discussions and in the talks by Ruud Van der Veen and Tony Gibson, and valuable ground was covered".

"I particularly found valuable the discussions emanating from our work and from the guest speakers during the week".

"I would like to have spent time before this week working out a theoretical framework and to have disciplined ourselves to this through the practical work. In this way the outside visits of

Tony Gibson and Rund Van der Veen could naturally have fitted in and been given before the week".

"Tony Gibson and Ruud were given too much time. Both were university based and worked in specialised conditions" (a point mentioned also by other workers).

"Ruud's session was interesting but of limited use to the Project".

Since *MARY MONTEITH* had herself worked on the Estate some years previously as a health visitor, had compiled a report on the incidence of depression there, and had current close links with the adult education institute, her session developed as a working interview by the group, supplying information about the early years of the Estate, and resources available in the Health Education Department at Guys for joint initiatives with adult education.

NELL KEDDIE - As a colleague outreach worker for an ILEA Adult Education Institute, Nell had previously contributed in various ways to the development of the thinking of the CEWs' group, and so was therefore able to appreciate quickly what was involved in the Project – in the initial phase, she helped the two team leaders to clarify for themselves the implication for the Project of the two quite distinct elements of in-service training and action research. She met members of both Project teams for a session of reflection on practice, at the stage at which the first week's team was handing over its findings to the second; and at the Avery Hill follow-up session in November greatly assisted our thinking about the theoretical framework for our work by discussing with the group the concepts of a "providers' model" and a "users' model" of adult education.[15]

[15] See Part II.

Chapter 6

WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE PROJECT?

This paper (written Christmas 1981) will attempt to outline progress in the adult education service on the Aylesbury during the eighteen months which have elapsed since the Project, particularly following the formation of the new Southwark Institute of Adult Education (SIAE) in January 1981.

(A) *On and around the Estate*

Walworth Centre

One of the earliest and strongest recommendations to the host Institute by the Project team (see page 17) was that a new post of Head of Centre with community education responsibilities for the Aylesbury should be established within the staffing structure of the new Institute. This recommendation was implemented after the Project, although with modifications which have strongly influenced what has since happened to the adult education provision on the Estate.

The ILEA guidelines on the staffing structure on the new SIAE did not make possible the creation of a post of Head of Centre for Aylesbury alone (ie the area between the Walworth, Old Kent and Albany Roads, containing three Institute branches – Shorncliffe Road, Michael Faraday School and Robert Browning School). Instead, the Head of Centre post was created for the entire Walworth area, comprising nearly all of the geographical area covered by the former Chaucer-Walworth Institute. This includes nine Institute branches, and around twenty off-site classes, in Bermondsey, Kennington, Camberwell, the Elephant and Castle and Peckham.

The head of Centre post is chiefly administrative, but it also carries, as recommended by the Project, community education responsibilities for Walworth. However, it should be added that the Project also recommended that the adult education response on the Aylesbury should not be divorced from its wider geographical context, and so these conditions have been met by the development of this Head of Centre post.

Dan Taubman, one of the group convertors for the Aylesbury Project was appointed Head of Centre for Walworth, thus maintaining a link between the Project and SIAE's subsequent provision in and around the Aylesbury.

The main problem in following up the initial work of the Project lies in the wide range of the Head of Centre's area and other duties, in addition to local responsibilities for the work on the Estate. This has made it impossible to follow up, in the depth required, all that emerged from those two weeks in the Summer of 1980, since the Aylesbury Estate now represents only one aspect of his work. Lack of time and personnel are the main reasons for the slow progress in the area, though the teething problems of the new Southwark Adult Education Institute, as both staff and students have struggled to come to terms with the new and very much larger organisation, must also be taken into account.

One encouraging short-term effect of the Project soon became apparent. The network of contacts made by the workers was demonstrated to be immediately useful when a new refuge for battered women was established on the fringe of the Estate, in the months following the Project. It was possible, without any delay, to put the refuge workers in touch with a wide range of potentially useful contacts.

However, in the longer term, as has already been noted, the development of an appropriate adult education response on the Aylesbury has to be considered in its wider context. In that the Head of Centre now works throughout the entire Walworth area, many of the initiatives taken and contacts made elsewhere are likely to feed back into provision on the Aylesbury.

1. *Institute Branches*

Three branches serve the Estate: Walworth School in Shorncliffe Road, (where the Project teams were based) Michael Faraday, and Robert Browning.

(a) *Shorncliffe Road Branch* has day and evening use of a suite of offices and a general purposes room/canteen with additional evening use of the school, and facilities shared with a youth centre. Despite initial problems over staffing, the branch is now supervised by a part-time tutor-in-charge with secretarial help. The t-i-c although having little ILEA adult education experience was appointed for his very wide experience of schools and youth and community work.

This branch was formerly the headquarters of the Chaucer-Walworth Institute, offering an evening programme of "traditional" classes and a couple of old-time dancing groups. Branch morale was affected when it lost its status as an Institute headquarters. The perpetuation of previous staffing levels could not be justified, and both tutors and students have suffered from feelings of neglect, especially when, in the dislocation of adult institute re-organisation, their branch was inadvertently omitted from the publicity of the new Institute.

At the start of the 1981/82 session, the entire programme of the SIAE was rigorously examined, and classes which had failed to approach an acceptable student-tutor ratio were discontinued. This review (long overdue at Shorncliffe Road) hit the branch hard, and left its evening programme looking a little threadbare, but there is now a base for a stronger and more appropriate programme to be built up.

The Educational Home Visiting (EHV) programme on the Estate is now based in the branch, and a small creche has been established as a basis for a day-time programme of interest to local women with pre-school age children. In the new management strategy for the branch, the tutor-in-charge undertakes outreach work on at least one evening each week, though to be successful, this approach also requires secretarial support, and back up from peripatetic t-i-cs.

Relations with Walworth School, in which the branch is housed, are cordial, but limited. The Institute's suggestion of a joint-user committee on the site has not been pursued.

(b) *Michael Faraday School* offers a small programme on two nights each week: a new and popular keep-fit class and a dressmaking class whose numbers are increasing. A Yoga class has been discontinued since the resignation of the tutor.

(c) *Robert Browning* is also open two nights a week, with a small but steady programme of dressmaking, keep fit, football training and Italian, and the school is to be used as one of the local bases for the educational home visiting team. The recently appointed head teacher is keen to work with the Institute.

The adult education programmes at Michael Faraday and Robert Browning are looked after by a peripatetic tutor-in-charge.

2. *Educational Home Visiting and the Telethon Project*

An educational home visitor on the staff of SIAE began work on the Estate in Autumn 1980, and by January 1981, was visiting eleven families and also encouraging them to attend the mother and toddler group run by the adult institute at Walworth School. This has had the additional spin-off of increasing the group's awareness of the Institute's evening activities. Families from the local Asian Women's group attended these sessions and an ESL class was also set up for them at Walworth School.

The positive response of local head teachers, health visitors, social workers and other agencies contributed to the early success of the visiting programme, and by Easter 1981, it was necessary to appoint a second part-time worker to develop home visiting, as well as establishing a further mother and toddler group on the Estate. Walworth and Aylesbury Community Arts Trust (WACAT) assisted by offering their premises free for one afternoon per week.

A successful application was made to Thames Television's "Telethon" Appeal for funds to expand the visiting programme on the Estate. A support group which was set up to manage the spending of this money recommended the appointment of an additional part-time visitor to work in a different part of the Estate from that already covered by her two colleagues. It is planned to extend this job into 1982 provided a second possible instalment of finance from the Telethon Fund is forthcoming. The worker plans to establish a third group on the Estate, and a small sum of money has been set aside for equipment. The Borough Play Officer has agreed to help the new group, as he did the initial group at Walworth School.

3. *Local Schools*

The Aylesbury is fortunate in being served by a number of community-minded primary schools, supported by an excellent home-school liaison worker, Margaret Cole, through whom the Institute has been able to establish potentially productive links with them.

The Institute runs a number of day-time classes in the Parents' Room at Surrey Square Infants' School. A family workshop at Michael Faraday School early one evening each week is in its first stages of development, and is aimed to create links between the School, playcentre and Institute. In common with outreach experience elsewhere, integrated parent-child work through the primary schools seems to offer the most promising area of work on the Aylesbury.

Contacts with the two local secondary schools, Walworth and Silverthorne Annexe are much more tenuous, and more work needs to be done in this area.

4. *The Post-School Sector*

Southwark Institute has good working links with local colleges of further education, which will undoubtedly influence the post-school provision on the Estate. Recent proposals for an Open College of South London, co-ordinating and initiating joint post-school ventures in Lambeth and Southwark, could have interesting possibilities for the Aylesbury.

5. *The Youth Service*

As noted elsewhere in this Report, Shorncliffe Road Branch shares its premises with an annexe of the Walworth Youth Centre. Relations between this Centre and the existing Institute were poor, but are now improving, mostly at a personal level between workers.

Since the Institute had to prepare its 1981/82 programme with some speed, it was impossible to plan jointly with the Youth Centre staff. However, better co-ordination of the two programmes should be achieved next session. Joint use of office space and the possibility of joint t-i-c cover has been tentatively discussed. These improving relations at a local level are parallelled by discussions on a Borough wide basis, between senior management from both sectors.

Very little work has been undertaken in relating to the numerous individual Youth Clubs in and around the Estate.

6. *Walworth and Aylesbury Community Arts Trust (WACAT)*

WACAT, the main community-based project on the Aylesbury runs a print shop, dark room activities centre, a radio and video unit, and also drama and music projects. At the time of the Aylesbury Project, WACAT's morale seemed very low, and the workers, perhaps not unjustifiably, appeared very suspicious of statutory bodies. Sally Nicholls, then CEW with the Frobisher Institute (now with Southwark Institute) carried out the earliest follow-up of the Project by establishing closer links with them, funding several joint initiatives in the Autumn of 1980.

Since then, the aim has been to build on this base, allocating resources appropriately and effectively. Jointly with WACAT, the Institute now runs a wide range of groups and classes, including drama and music groups, photography and print workshops, radio production and video skills courses, as well as a women's health group, a yoga class and a dance class. WACAT workers deal with the Institute's paperwork for these courses; and the head of centre meets the WACAT collective once a term to discuss priorities, the joint programme and the general direction of the work. Discussions are also in progress with the WACAT cable radio project, with a view to closer collaboration once broadcasting starts.

7. *Aylesbury Day Centre - see next section*

8. *Social Services and the Health Services*

Only relatively minor progress has been made in developing relationships with these services. The lack of impact made by the local Social Services on the Project (see Recommendations to the ILEA) has typified institute/department links since. Contacts with the local health services are maintained by the EHV Project.

9. *Tenants' Associations*

There are at least three tenants' associations on the Estate, a complex situation for the Institute to relate to, and no lasting contacts have been established with them as yet. Clearly this is an area where much more can be done.

10. *Employment*

The work undertaken on employment during the second week of the Project has not yet been followed up, systematically, although some work with the unemployed people is being funded through WACAT.

Since the Project, unemployment has increased nationally, a trend which must be reflected on the Estate. The Institute is engaged in a number of Borough-wide initiatives which undoubtedly have implications for the work on the Aylesbury. The most popular class at Shorncliffe Road this session has been typing, which was fully booked in two days, with a waiting list of over 40.

Conclusions

The Institute's involvement with WACAT, and the work of the EHV team, represent the main thrust of its present community education work on the Aylesbury. Co-operative relationships are being built and a clearer picture of the Estate is emerging. In the next stage, the Institute will build further on its existing network among Aylesbury groups and residents in order to develop a more appropriate adult education response.

The scope of the task facing the AEI on the Aylesbury, employing as it does only one full-time member of staff with a number of part-timers, has meant that follow-up has not been carried out in the depth required to make any substantial progress. A certain amount, however, has been achieved – relationships with other groups on and around the Estate are improving, and the Institute is building a reputation for delivery and trust. The adult education programme for the Estate is properly co-ordinated now; a single publicity leaflet for all local classes was distributed in September 1981, and a second after Christmas.

The Estate is too big to be adequately served by a single branch, and the aim is that the adult education provision should be based on a "string of pearls" approach. But it is doubtful whether, in the near future, sufficient resources will be available for an effective follow-through to the Aylesbury Project on meaningful community education lines; although the insights of the Project will undoubtedly continue to feed back in various ways into the work of the adult institute.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE PROJECT?

(B) *The Aylesbury Day Centre*

In January 1981, when the adult education provision in Southwark was reorganised, a member of staff was appointed to take responsibility for special needs education, and it was possible to focus more attention on the educational needs of handicapped people in the Aylesbury area.

At about the same time, the London Borough of Southwark set up an Aylesbury Day Centre development group, which consisted of representatives from a wide variety of statutory and voluntary bodies in the borough concerned with handicap. The purpose of this group was to attempt to solve the "problems" of the Day Centre (mainly defined as under-usage and lack of clear purpose for the clients who did attend). The Institute came under considerable pressure to provide activities at the Centre as quickly as possible in order to solve some of the difficulties, but took the view that provision of a programme of classes should be at the end of a process of consultation and investigation, not at the beginning of it.

Accordingly, a basic education worker was appointed in September 1981 to work with the people attending the Centre three days a week, not only to set up literacy and numeracy classes but also to work informally, identifying learning needs. In fact, the need for literacy provision was immediate and urgent, and the Institute does not have the resources to provide for all the classes that are needed. At present basic education classes are run on five mornings a week.

Handicapped people at day centres are often "assigned" to particular activities, frequently of a craft or practical nature. In the attempt to build up an approach which is more along community development lines, shorter courses have been set up which do not require regular weekly attendance and which will hopefully give people the opportunity to follow through particular interests, either at the Centre or elsewhere as they see fit.

An Alternative Medicine course was run in the Autumn of 1981 which was open to day centre members and people from outside. Between twenty and fifty people attended individual sessions on acupuncture, homeopathy, faith healing, yoga etc. The yoga session is now being followed up by a course. The Institute has also been making efforts to identify disabled people who could be tutors, and will be running an "Exploring London" course in January 1982 which will be tutored by someone who is wheelchair bound. Hopefully, out of this, day centre members will acquire the confidence to make more use of the resources London has to offer. It is hoped to develop a similar course in relation to sport and physical activities.

A start has been made on financing regular activities such as the music group, the radio group, and cookery classes, but probably the most valuable development has been the building up of networks involving the Institute and members of the Centre. A number of people from the Centre attended a Conference run by the Institute and other agencies, on Education, Training

and Employment Opportunities for Handicapped People in Southwark, and four students now hope to attend a twenty-one hour course for unemployed people, at Southwark College. The Institute will provide an additional tutor to support them – integration is expensive. A Day Centre member also attended the demonstration mounted by Inner London teachers, students and parents against the proposed Local Government Finance Bill. Two members, at the Institute's suggestion, have recently appeared on Thames Television, talking about their educational needs, and a number of Aylesbury members are now attending classes at Institute main branches.

A lot of thought needs to be given to the ways in which adult education relates to institutions like day centres for handicapped people. It is all too easy to slip into a "servicing" role, where adult education conforms to models all too prevalent in social service and health authority institutions – providers of benefits with passive clients bound to dreary institutions and grateful for it. The Institute is not, as yet, providing a high standard programme at the Day Centre, as is the case in other parts of London There is, however, a lot of creative interaction and possibility for disabled people to define what they want from adult education, both within the Day Centre and outside of it.

The Aylesbury Project

Part 2

Associated Papers

Chapter 7

A HISTORY OF ILEA OUTREACH WORK AND ITS PRECURSORS

Dan Taubman and Mike Cushman

I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO 1970

The Early Years 1820s –1903

The first adult education initiatives in London started through voluntary efforts. The London Mechanics Institute was set up in 1823. There was a steady expansion of this voluntary effort throughout the middle of the century until the formation of the School Board for London in 1870. Prior to that date there had been some central government supervision and finance for the voluntary "night schools" for adults. Until its functions were taken over by the Education Committee of the LCC, the London School Board built up a substantial provision of evening education for young people and adults. In 1882 there were 83 evening schools with 9,000 students; by 1902 this had grown to 376 evening schools with 127,000 students who attended 75% of sessions. The School Board's aim was to provide the widest possible curriculum with the lowest possible fees or no fees at all. In 1903 20% of evening schools charged no fees. For attempting to do this the School Board was taken to court on a number of occasions. The period was marked by a deliberate policy of what would now be termed "positive discrimination".

> "from the beginning the Board only imposed fees because it would have been illegal not to have done so, and as it was they took every opportunity to secure exemptions for special circumstances and generally regarded fees as a hindrance to the attendance of the people who most needed the service ..." (W. Devereux "Adult Education in London 1870–1980").

The effect of low or nil fees on student enrolment in adult education can be seen as early as 1898 for in that year fees for evening schools were abolished and the number of students doubled.

Although the curriculum in the 1890's was widened considerably to include such subjects as art, german, laundrywork, life and duties of the citizen, physical education and vocal music. Technical education as such was outside the remit of the London School Board and was provided by the LCC's Technical Education Board following the 1888 Technical Instruction Act.

The 1890s were also marked by a large increase in women attending evening schools. The curriculum for women included:

> "needlework, dress cutting, gymnastics, cookery, laundry work, singing, reading, home nursing, writing, composition..." (W. Devereux). In one of the free evening schools for men that were set up in the poorer districts the curriculum was:

> "gymnastics, swimming, history, geography, drawing, first aid, metalwork, elementary science, reading, writing and arithmetic..." (W. Devereux).

The working class were well represented. A list of male occupations of students included:

> "labourers, stablemen, costermongers, bricklayers, watermen, car men, milk boys, street orderly boys, boys employed in telegraph works, soap works and candle works, boys on barges and errand boys"

and womens' occupations included:

> "cap making and packing, card, fancy and tie box making, machining blouses, trousers and buttonholes, envelope folding and stamping, paper bag making, sock making, sewing and folding, cigar making, cigarette packing, show card making, carpet sewing, toy making, packing perfumery and washing perfumery bottles, sieve making, feather curling and making umbrellas".

For men these represented the casual labour which was a very large portion of working class employment in London at this time. For women the occupations mentioned were typical of the sweated trades.

The interventionist nature of London adult education is seen even then from a couple of reports from HMIs; one on male evening school refers to "the admirable conduct of this difficult school and the undoubted highly beneficial influence on the students". The other report on a women's evening school says "that the marked feature in this school is the improvement in the behaviour and appearance of the very rough class of girls that attend it". This concern with working class adult education and particularly with the poorest sections of this class was a marked feature of the London Service right up to the end of World War II.

The LCC 1904–1939

In 1904 the LCC took over from the London School Board and found a very well developed system of education for adults. By 1910–11 there were 25,000 evening students in polytechnics, 10,000 in technical and art schools, 30,000 in commercial centres, 100,000 in evening schools and 30,000 in other institutions such as Morley College, the Working Men's College. In 1913 evening education was re-organised. Important features of this re-organisation were to last until the re-organisation of London adult education in 1957 and the distinction between vocational and non-vocational education persists to this day in London.

The 1913 re-organisation set up 30 Womens' Institutes with a curriculum of domestic economy – cookery, laundrywork and housewifery, health education – first aid, home nursing, infant care and needlework. Men were catered for in 50 junior commercial Institutes, 27 neighbourhood senior commercial Institutes, 22 junior technical Institutes, 40 general Institutes, 25 free and 12 non-vocational Institutes. The Womens' Institutes were encouraged to develop the social side of their work. Canteens, libraries, reading and homework rooms were set aside. The larger Institutes had a full time "responsible teacher". Overall in the Service 100 teachers were employed to spend half their time in dayschools and half in the evening school to enable the evening schools to pick up school-leavers and visit employers. The Service at this point combined features which are now split between adult education, further education and the Youth Service. The unified nature of the Service then was important in recruiting working class students to adult education. In 1914 the non-vocational Institutes were designated literary Institutes and a number of the free Institutes became fee paying, although fees remained low. Remission of fees was available in all Institutes.

At the end of World War I the Report of the Reconstruction Committee on Adult Education which had been written by Bevin, Mansbridge, Tawney and Arthur Greenwood, whilst recommending the continued dominance of the Responsible Bodies' provision of adult education over local education authority provision in the rest of the country, confirmed the LCC's philosophy of wide spread working class adult education.

Until the setting up of the first Mens' Institutes on an experimental basis in 1920 there was no explicit provision of mens' non vocational education. The experiment was made permanent in 1924. These Institutes were deliberately aimed at working class men. The social side was emphasised and the curriculum included handicrafts, physical education, music and hobbies. A notable feature of mens' institutes was the high degree of self organisation of most of the activities.

> "There were poultry clubs, male voice choirs, brass bands, orchestras, sketch clubs, social study circles etc. each forming the nucleus of a class held yearly in those subjects. The clubs were co-ordinated by a students' central council in each Institute, and were conducting their own affairs. It was this distinctive manifestation of democratic feeling which, encouraged by the heads of the Institutes, did more than any other single cause to promote the growth and success of the Institute"

Both the Mens' and Women's Institutes had a steady development throughout the inter-war period despite the Depression. In 1933 the LCC voted £5,000 per annum for day classes for the unemployed. The general inspection of the Walworth Mens' Institute in the mid-1930s gives the flavour of a thriving Mens Institute at the time. Enrolment had steadily grown: 371 in 1920 to 1,382 in 1935/36 which didn't include 317 unemployed men in day classes. 701 students were attending more than one class a week and 207 more than 3 a week. Students were encouraged to regard the Institute as a Club. Every class had its own committee, chairman and secretary.

> "The football, cricket and table-tennis clubs were controlled by the sports club under the chairmanship of the schoolkeeper who was the club's first secretary and one of the most ardent and persistent propagandists on the Institute's behalf".
>
> (For a fuller picture of the Institute see W. Devereux's book 'Adult Education in London 1870 – 1980', from which we have drawn extensively for the account of the pre-1957 Service.)

The Retreat from Working Class Education 1940–1970

World War II unlike World War I meant extensive disruption of adult education in London. Many Institutes closed and the opening of those remaining was often interrupted. During the Blitz Institutes took classes to the shelters where they discovered a new "captive" audience. Many people were brought into contact with adult education for the first time. Strict registration procedures which had been a bugbear of Institutes up to the War were perforce relaxed, and in this programme a precursor of outreach work can be seen.

The 1944 Education Act required local education authorities to submit a scheme of further education. The Act required:

> "(a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age; and
> (b) leisure time occupation in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements for any person over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose. The proposals for such provision were required to be secured in accordance with schemes of further education approved by the Minister."

The end of the War saw a resurgence of adult education. 30,000 copies of "Floodlight" were sold in 1945/46. All Institutes by this point had diversified from their original purposes. There were substantial numbers of women in men's Institutes and vice versa. There were large numbers of under 18s in men's and women's Institutes and the recreational Institutes which were replacing junior men's Institutes had large number of 18s enrolling.

The period after World War II saw a steady decline in adult education as a working class activity; a replacement of working class students by the lower middle class and most significantly of all a lack of concern at these trends. A number of reasons can be suggested for this shift:

(i) From 1950 onwards fees steadily increased. This produced an overall decrease in the number of enrolments and almost certainly a more than proportionate decline in the number of working class students.

(ii) The high expectations of the 1944 Act led to a belief that all people would value education and special efforts would no longer be required to recruit working class students.

(iii) The fall in unemployment in London meant there was no longer the need for this special day provision.

(iv) Extensive rehousing meant both the break-up of communities to which the Institutes related, and perhaps the improvements in people's living conditions meant they were content to stay at home.

(v) The rise of television.

(vi) Over-riding all areas of social policy including adult education, the myth of affluence meant that special programmes were no longer thought to be required.

The shift away from working class recruitment was accompanied by a change in curriculum towards subjects favoured by the middle class, which further accelerated the fall in working class enrolment. In the words of one Principal after the War – "less a social meeting place and more a specialist centre where students came to study a particular subject or further a special interest..."

By 1956/57 enrolment was at its lowest point for a decade, and Institutes in working class areas had suffered most.

The 1957 re-organisation of mens, womens and literary Institutes into mixed Adult Education Institutes was in part a money saving exercise, but was mainly an attempt to make the Service more efficient without a change in its objectives. Concern for the provision for working class students was not a feature of the re-organisation. The period was marked by a preoccupation with "standards". The "panel" system of tutor approval as a major control mechanism developed in the 1950s. At the same time, Principals were given more autonomy in deciding the Institutes' programme.

The 1960s saw a steady growth in resources available to adult education. 8,524 classes a week in 1960 had increased to 14,366 by 1968/69. Amongst the largest areas of growth were modern languages and arts and crafts. The only counter-veiling tendency to the growth of adult education as a leisure commodity was the development of welfare classes in homes, day centres and hospitals from the mid-1950s.

This decade saw the re-emergence of poverty and deprivation as social issues. It also saw a series of inquiries into each of the education and social services eg Crowther, Newson, Robbins, Plowden, Skeffington, Seebohm and Russell.

II. OUTREACH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKING CLASS ADULT EDUCATION 1970–1980

In 1969 the Labour Government set up the Russell Committee to look at the English and Welsh adult education service. In setting up the Russell Committee, the Government unleashed in London among other places, a new approach to adult education – community education and education for the "disadvantaged". Assembling its evidence for Russell gave ILEA its first overall examination of adult education since the 1957 re-organisation. In gathering evidence ILEA found that the service had become unrepresentative of the general Inner London population. The adult student population contained more women than men, that students were of a lower average age than the general population and had had longer in full time education. Crucially, of students in employment, only 4% could be described as semi-or unskilled manual workers as opposed to 31% of the general population. As the evidence puts it:

> "the service exists to educate and not just to continue the education of the educated..."

and looked to

> "a community field-worker approach with individuals and small groups being helped to determine and satisfy their needs..."

The evidence to Russell confirmed the growing doubts of some Labour members of ILEA about the direction of their adult education service, particularly those members who were part of, or had been heavily influenced by the "poverty lobby". The return to power of Labour in ILEA in 1971 meant there was political concern with the relationship of adult education to the working class and the deprived for the first time since 1945.

Although the precise figures of the evidence to Russell were substantially criticised because of the mode of their collection, the general conclusions of a substantial imbalance were not brought into doubt. The evidence to Russell was the signal for much action within the adult education sector. In May 1970 the Association of Principals of AEIs expressed concern at ILEA's findings and a Working Party was set up to investigate the social structure of the student body of AEIs. When this body reported in March 1973 it amplified the conclusions of the evidence to Russell and initiated a move towards community education.

The final Report of the Working Party set out clearly a new direction for adult education in London. It started as an investigation into why "manual workers are poorly represented among the student body". It concluded however by seeking to "attract and serve a complete cross-section of the community without any need for special discriminatory measures..." This philosophical slippage was to be crucial in the development of "outreach". It was to be repeated throughout the decade and become the black hole into which all radical initiatives were to disappear. The Working Party Report set out tentatively a programme for change. It realised...

> "Men and women cannot reasonably be expected to respond to invitations to use educational services and become involved in society if for the greater part of their lives they have felt rejected or unwelcome"

and more positively that

> "every educational establishment has to be related in some way or another to the community in which it is situated..."

It called for increased resources for adult education in terms of plant, equipment publicity and ancillary support such as creche provision. It also called for extra staff for research into the educational needs of the community; for "if we are to know more about the needs of people who are hitherto unknown to us, then there must be outreach staff".

These were to become the main arm of this new approach to community education. If large sections of London's population were not represented among the student body, clearly something was wrong; outreach workers would be employed to find out why and what these unmet needs of the non-users were. The history of outreach workers shows what happened when the results they produced and the remedies they prescribed became too radical for LEA adult education managers to ever hope to encompass. The inherent fault of the Report was that it set out the wrong question. It sought to find out what additional or parallel provision was required to service unmet need, not how to reform current provision for that purpose.

The use of the outreach model is of interest in itself. It seems to have first surfaced in ILEA Document 839 in February 1970. This was a proposal to merge the Authority's adult and youth services into an integrated non-vocational service for all ages. Here it was to employ "educational community officers" who would be the main field worker and link with statutory provision, and play a major part in developing "lines reaching out into the community at field level". The merger was dropped two years later. But both the youth service and adult education retained vestiges of this post in later developments.

The Working Party Report set the tone. It was quickly followed by the publication of the Russell Report on Adult Education, and in ILEA by the publication of "Education Service for the Whole Community" Document and Policy. Russell altered the ground again. Although the Report called for an increase in resources available to adult education, it did not address itself to the problem of working class access to adult education, but instead came up with the notion of "disadvantage". This view of society and adult education's role within it, saw an essentially sound status quo within which certain individuals, perhaps even classes of individuals suffer some form of disadvantage which simultaneously separated them from the "normal" population and from which adult education was to play its part in freeing them. In this philosophy the Russell Report was in the mainstream of social policy of the time eg CDPs, Poverty Programmes, EPA et al – a pathological approach (for further examination see CDP Pamphlet "Gilding the Ghetto"). From Russell paras 277–85

> "the term disadvantaged should be construed to include not only the physically and mentally handicapped, but also those who on account of their limited educational background, present cultural or social environment, age, location, occupation or status cannot easily take part in adult education … adult education should be concerned with: provision for identified groups of disadvantaged adults … the education of the public about disadvantaged groups and their needs … family support – that is training and orientation of those closely involved in living with the handicapped…"

Thus was born the concept of "disadvantage" which has so bedevilled the clarification of a radical theory of adult education within LEA provision. Adult Education for its part has gratefully grasped the straw of disadvantage and substituted it for any real change of direction. The concept of disadvantage of course fits a traditional model of liberal, paternal adult education far easier than the theories and practices that were being tentatively established in Liverpool by Jackson. This abandoned the exalted heights of neutrality and called on adult educationalists to enter into a dialogue with their students and potential students from a position alongside them in struggle and thus mutually interpret their learning needs in the light of the students' values and interests – adult education for real change, change which by its very nature could not be easily controlled or directed.

Shortly after the arrival of Russell, ILEA published its policy "Education Service for the Whole Community". This dealt with the whole education service, yet for adult education it was an ambiguous document. Although it moved adult education from the wings to a place on the educational stage (albeit it in the chorus) and saw it as a part of an integrated service, the Report indicated that adult education outreach workers (along with Teacher Centre Wardens) should be key facilitators in cross-sector working. However, this came to nought. The ESWC Policy was preoccupied with institutional-based education. "Community" was seen in conventional terms and equality of communities was postulated. An extension of resources and more interconnection between different sectors of ILEA's service and voluntary agencies would reduce these differences.

The change in direction of the early '70s came from the top. Indeed given the existing structure of the service in London, it was the only place it could come from – there was as yet very little organised critical thinking at the base. But in coming from the top down, it reproduced in its initiatives the same structure. The new direction was to be undertaken by a charismatic few. Outreach workers would be placed within existing AEIs to "ginger" them internally whilst simultaneously reaching out to the localities, researching unmet needs and methods of fulfilling them. These initiatives would depend for their success on individual local management. Although Boards of Governors and Academic Boards were being set up introduce an element of decentralisation the Working Party Report and ESWC undertook no reorganisation of management structures which would underpin these new initiatives. Consequently in most cases "outreach" experiments remained just that, experiments. The main body of the AEI's work and ILEA's bureaucratic procedures rolled on untouched.

There was also another problem. Most of the people employed as outreach workers were of a different generation to the rest of full-time adult education staff. For the most part University trained and with some semblance of an explicit educational and political philosophy they were very different. Because of this they were perceived as very threatening by many of their colleagues; this increased the isolation of individual workers.

The outreach workers had a very strange role which has persisted to the present time. They were of a comparatively low formal status within their Institutes (initially they were employed as LIs plus special responsibility allowance, rising after Houghton to LIIs). Their work was mysterious and often troublesome to the smooth running of the Institute. Yet for the Authority and for the purposes of relations between the Institutes and ILEA and other educational organisations they had a fairly high status. Alone amongst adult education lecturers they had direct access to the Assistant Education Officer. Much of their work was that to be shown to visiting educationalists and HMIs. Yet every change in procedure had to be fought for; most actions were mistrusted.

ILEA, despite nods in the Working Party Report towards substantial in-service training did not in fact initiate any such programme for either its new outreach recruits or generally for the Institutes to comprehend its new policy directions. Indeed the Inspectorate has managed to mount only two residential conferences on outreach work in 8 years. This compares for example with Fashion and Craft which had annual residential courses and an extensive-pattern of other courses throughout the year. No support system was ever created for outreach workers. The only one in existence was that created by the workers themselves. Originally it started as an informal swapping of ideas and information. As the number of outreach workers grew the Group became more formal, although its twin tasks of support and information have remained. Early in its existence it gained a form of official recognition from the Authority, and in this capacity has managed to modify some of its initiatives into ILEA practice.

This grouping was however the only substantial form of in-service training. In an LEA environment where every action has to have the right piece of paper sanctioning it the absence of clear lines of communication and information has proved a severe handicap.

The result of the welter of reports and policy documents of the early '70s had been to map out a change of direction for the Inner London Service. The original direction of the change towards

some increase in adult education for the working class had been diluted first towards somewhat woolly notions of community, and then most seriously by the pathology of disadvantage. Practically, the Authority had appointed approximately 20 outreach workers to make links with this mass of unmet need, and to try to translate it into some kind of education practice that would fit the Authority's criteria of acceptability.

But more seriously the Authority neglected to give any clear lead on the type of management structure appropriate to a policy of innovation. This left the outreach worker isolated within his/her own Institute. It also failed to inaugurate any form of in-service training either for the outreach workers themselves or an an Institute basis to try to create an understanding of their work. No monitoring of outreach work ever took place. Consequently no new criteria for evaluating work was established to replace the rather crude one of numbers; except its hardly less subtle Companion of "numbers of the disadvantaged making it to mainstream classes". Because of its origins as a policy brought in from the top "community education" failed to engage the sympathies of the majority of adult education staff. This left outreach workers isolated and marginalised. The degree to which this new policy failed for the most part to filter down the hierarchy is illustrated by the fact that some of the fiercest struggles the outreach workers had was with the Inspectorate over standards of taste. Good was the goal of the Inspectorate as defined in the most gender-stereotyped, white, middle class way as possible.

By 1974/75 the number of outreach workers had grown to its maximum. The first ad-hoc appointments had been swelled by 11 specially created posts. In an effort both to survive and to achieve some form of acceptance, these workers began to be sucked into the same pattern of working as the rest of the service. Resources, always limited for the adult education sector, became scarcer as external economic and political factors washed over the public sector.

The notion of disadvantage which had sprung from Russell was given a boost in London by the arrival of Peter Clyne as Assistant Education Officer (CEC). Clyne as research officer to the Russell Committee had been the Report's principal architect. His book "The Disadvantaged Adult" became required reading for London Adult Education Principals.

Given these pressures, outreach workers in order to gain access to precious resources resorted to special pleading. There was by and large no means of prioritising demands on ever scarcer resources. Consequently the outreach worker had to make out special cases for groups of ever more needy individuals in ever more heart-rending terms. Their attempts to produce a coherent theory was put under pressure by the tactical compromises individual workers were forced to make to secure any resources at all. They were forced into a dispiriting succession of wrangles over definitions of needyness for isolated groups. Outreach workers were forced into a position where they defacto colluded with the whole concept of disadvantage. It was easily understood by their colleagues; if it could be narrowed to definable groups, they could be counted – numbers were (and are) still ILEA's means of evaluation, some success could be demonstrated and after all it was said that *nobody actually suffered from outreach work*.

1976–1977

By the mid-70s community education workers had in the main found themselves a niche within individual Institutes and in the Authority, even if on the margins. The most untenable posts where outreach workers had found outright hostility from Institute managements had been vacated and the departing workers not replaced. The major criticism of this trend was that these posts, which outreach workers themselves believed should not be refilled, were not replaced by other equivalent posts elsewhere in the service. This meant a net reduction in the number of specialist outreach workers within the Authority. There was however no mechanism set up by the ILEA for collating outreach work experience, or of drawing lessons from the success or failure of individual projects or initiatives for practice across London.

It appeared that there was a reluctance to allow the outreach experience to develop an overall critique of established adult education practice in Inner London, despite the real concern of senior ILEA officers that the outreach experiment should prosper and the prominence given to outreach when the Authority described its provision to external audiences. This is not to argue that everything that was going on in outreach was right or that everything in "mainstream" provision was wrong; but that an understanding of the possibilities and limitations of "mainstream" adult education could have been deepened to the overall benefit of the service, particularly as this was a time of growth in full-time staffing and professional expertise within the mainstream sector.

The main components of a genuine debate were present. It is worth comparing the Authority's treatment of outreach with its treatment of literacy and subsequently of ESL work. In these latter areas ILEA supplemented local initiatives with central co-ordination and support. The Authority provided the structure for the communication of experience from one locality to another and provided significant resources for in-service training. It may be that adult education could more easily cope with developments within basic education because they were situated in context that were akin to the "classrooms" and dealing with groups of students who could more easily fit into prevailing concepts of disadvantage. Essentially basic education was more acceptable to local Institute management than outreach because it dealt with a definable product to groups easily regarded as disadvantaged. It was also the type of provision which could be seen by Institutes as additional to their existing programme rather than alternative. Although competitive in terms of resources, basic education provision was essentially non-threatening in terms of how adult education could and perhaps should be organised.

By 1976 it was clear, owing to central government limitations on local education authority spending, that for the foreseeable future ILEA adult education would have a very small, if not nil, growth, even if actual cuts were avoided. This meant that any further growth of developmental work would unambiguously be at the expense of resources for "mainstream" adult education.

It is in this context that ILEA produced the paper 493 "Adult Education in Inner London", followed four months later by ILEA document 770 which developed into recommendations some of the points made in the earlier paper. The two together represented the first overall policy statement solely for adult education for some considerable time. These documents represented a defence of the status quo whilst delineating further the pathology of "disadvantage". They shied from producing any significant change in direction for the Inner London Service.

The main theme of the documents was the need for a balanced programme. Outreach was relegated to being one of a dozen items within a list of work with disadvantaged. 493 and 770 did not concern themselves with curriculum issues. They spoke about the need for Institutes to maintain a "balanced" programme. Earlier notions of "balance" had been about seeking to make student bodies a balanced cross-section of the local community. Now "balance" meant a balance between the programme for existing users and current non-users, thus preserving a similar "balance" between the student bodies and the local communities as to that outlined in the Working Party Report of 1973.

These documents showed how little the outreach experiment penetrated official ILEA policies. The small but highly significant shifts from working class to community, and from community to disadvantage, were given explicit recognition in 493 and 770. These were but passing references to unskilled manual workers and even of "community"; there was however a rag-bag of disadvantaged groups whose only unifying factor seemed that they could be collectively categorised as deserving of charity. The Authority underlined its direction by drawing a crude league table of Institutes' involvement with this ultimately vitiated definition of disadvantage. The result was that in the reallocation of resources coming from these documents Institutes that have devoted a large amount of resources to this easily administered (although often demanding to teach) classes in welfare establishments, did comparatively better than those Institutes that had attempted the more problematic community based adult education programme.

With 493 and 770 "balance" became a euphemism for parallel provision. The existing programme remained unchanged; alongside ran the provision for the unfortunate disadvantaged. A whole new and false battle opened up between mainstream and disadvantaged and between safe and problematic disadvantaged provision. This was exacerbated as limited growth became nil growth except for work with the disadvantaged. Special funds were to be clawed back from existing resources or created by central government through ALRA, Section II money and urban aid. In the allocation of the 1% clawback pool of resources the largest amount went to work in social service establishments. Principals wanting to see their empires grow had to resort to the same type of special pleading with County Hall that their outreach workers had had to employ earlier with them. The outreach workers in turn, under pressure to turn up ever more and more disadvantaged turned increasingly to other professionals who had access to untapped resevoirs of disadvantaged – social workers, health visitors, hospitals etc. The production of disadvantaged bodies would give the outreach workers internal respectability; they would be seen to succeed. Most attempts to build some coherent strategy towards meeting the needs of working class men and women were abandoned in the absence of any meaningful support vertically or horizontally in the structure. Outreach workers became fixers for ever more disparate groups.

III. RE-ORGANISATION 1980–81

ILEA's 1957 pattern of Adult Education Institutes had been modified on an ad-hoc basis as Principals retired but there had been no major re-organisation of Institute boundaries since the mid-1960s. For over a decade all vacant Principalships had been filled. It was clear that by 1979 the Authority was beginning to look more systematically at boundaries in the light of impending retirements of Principals. They embarked on a review of boundaries in South East London as a consequence of retirement or impending retirement of 3 Principals. Other reviews were anticipated in other geographical areas as more retirements became imminent. This piecemeal process was overtaken by the decision of the Authority to reduce its expenditure for the year 1980–81. The whole review of Institute boundaries was accelerated by this cuts package.

The re-organisation of Adult Education Institutes which took place in January 1981, reduced their number from 32 to 20, and the new Institute boundaries took more into account the London borough boundaries than did those of the previous Institutes. This was the result of three main factors:

(a) The future financial/economic crisis – adult education, given its marginality to, and low status within the educational hierarchy and most importantly its non-statutory base would be an obvious target for future cuts. A smaller number of stronger Institutes would be better able to survive the anticipated hardships.

(b) A desire to improve the management of Institutes. Finally, taking cognisance of the changes in adult education over the previous decade, the re-organisation attempted to provide each Institute with a large enough cadre of professional full-time staff which would be able to manage resources more efficiently and improve academic performance.

(c) The massive decline in the Inner London population.

Of these 3 grounds it was apparent that the first was predominant. The educational grounds for re-organisation were not presented until late in the whole process and there was continual controversy over the effectiveness of larger as against smaller more localised Institutes in relating to local communities.

A key feature of re-organisation was the recognition that within Institutes two alternative patterns of staffing had evolved. The first of these was centre based. This meant in practice that

a full-time member of staff acted as a full-time Tutor-in-Chargé; although this role might significantly extend beyond that of the usual part-time TIC. The other approach was to have subject-based specialists.

Outreach workers were slightly separate from these two approaches. They were not subject based but were involved in curriculum across a wide range of the Institute's work; and although not always site-based they had extensive links with the fabric of the local community.

Re-organisation sought to enhance the role of the Heads of Centre and increased their numbers. A significant role was given to them in developing local community liaison though the mechanism for achieving this was not made clear. Whilst this new approach if achieved could increase the responsiveness of an Institute to local communities, the danger is that the overall commitment to community education has been reduced. This has happened before the alternative model using Heads of Centre has been properly made effective. Indeed reorganisation has reduced the actual numbers of outreach workers on the ground.

Outreach workers will still be required in the long term for both the specialist input they can make into the process of curriculum development, and because they represent a flexible resource for Institutes to develop current priorities.

Some outreach workers have transferred through re-organisation to posts as Heads of Centre. It remains to be seen if their previous experience as outreach workers is allowed to redefine the mainstream priorities of the centres for which they have become responsible.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of working class adult education in London falls into three distinct phases. In the period up to the end of World War II a major emphasis was placed on this work, as there was no system of school education to take the working class beyond the most elementary levels of instruction. Thus adult education encompassed social activities, recreational learning and pre-vocational training for young people as well as adults. After World War II social changes as outlined above and optimism about the school system meant that an expectation that problems would solve themselves and that special initiatives were unnecessary. Consequently, adult education sought merely to maximise its enrolment without questioning who it was serving. This can be seen in the way the curriculum changes in the 50s to latch onto perceptions of middle class interests. Since 1970 adult education has asked itself, and has been asked many more questions about its aims. It has prioritised responses to groups within the community who have ceased to use adult education, but the Authority was unwilling to articulate its policy in class terms.

The overwhelming dominance of "mainstream" programme and the pedagogic approach as its medium of delivery of that programme should be seen as the accidental product of a temporary retreat from the interventionist tradition of adult education in London; the result of retrenchment in the 50s and unplanned growth in the 60s. Community adult education should be seen as a return to the heritage of the London Service.

In looking back the development of the Authority and its predecessors' response to working class adult education, there seems to be a gap in the research so far produced about the political process at member level in determining the attitudes to adult education; and also as to whether there was any organised pressure from trade unions, local political parties or voluntary organisations for a particular form of adult education.

The history so far written is in terms of initiative from educators or educational administrators seemingly unrelated to external pressures. Adult Education after the 1980 re-organisation is at the crossroads.

If community based adult education is to consolidate the progress it made in the 70s and establish itself as the main model for adult education in the future, (a comparable position to the pre World War II period) then the Authority will need the political will and the practical resources to support such a programme.

Chapter 8

A PROPOSAL FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF SECONDED STAFF TO ADVISORY TEACHER POSTS FOR COMMUNITY (OUTREACH) EDUCATION

Kundry Clarke and Dan Taubman

This paper and its recommendations arises at a point of change and reassessment for the adult education service in Inner London. The "outreach" experiment is now ten years old; the re-organisation and restructuring of staffing provides a unique opportunity for simultaneously assessing the value of "outreach" whilst consolidating the gains for the service and maintaining the Authority's policy of positive discrimination.

One of the main obstacles to the above is the absence of any central unit (other than the Inspectorate) to evaluate, monitor and advise this vital arm of policy. This proposal recommends an advisory teacher unit of 3 posts on secondment from within the service to advise, monitor, support and seed ideas in the field of adult community education, particularly outreach.

For an experiment which has run almost a decade there is a startling dearth of published material on outreach work, apart from Mike Newman's "Poor Cousin" and a few isolated papers. There is nothing very solid. Outreach workers have tended to be doubly isolated both within the Service and from similar work both nationally and internationally. One of the first tasks for the proposed unit should be to give outreach work some kind of framework within this broader context. They should consider history and try to construct some coherent pointers for the future. Outreach workers as at present constituted are not in a position to do this. Often isolated, sometimes shunned within Institutes, community education workers have tended to work in a pragmatic and ad-hoc manner. Approaches have been used, repeated or discarded as the immediate situation demands. The daily reality of outreach work also militates against a considered examination because of its characteristic of immediate demands on the workers' time and energy by individuals and groups.

Historical Background

The first appointments for community education workers were made in 1971. At that time the policy for such workers was unclear except in general broad principle. This is exemplified by the variety of job description, the first three workers being involved one in a research project, one on mounting short courses and the third in general field work as the main emphasis.

When the Authority published its policy statement "An Education Service for the Whole Community", the appointment of Community Education Workers was still innovative and the findings of the research project at Chaucer Walworth Institute were not published to the, by then, larger numbers of workers.

Policy statements since ESWC have referred to general points of policy which relate to CEWs, but the individuals in the Group are still working in a largely uncoordinated way deciding

priorities day-by-day with no agreed criteria for success. The Inspectorate have endeavoured to work in support of individuals and the group, helping to develop promising lines of approach and producing short, general reports.

The time since 1971 is now such that it is realistic to consider expanding resources on a survey of techniques which have been developed and considering some experimentation in team work to build a stronger branch of the Service, more supportive and more able to offer guidance to individual and new workers

The influence of community education workers and their success to date is reflected in the approach of the AEIs generally to literacy, second language and potential education courses.

Role of the Unit

1. *Monitoring*: One of the main tasks of the proposed Unit would be to monitor existing "outreach" work within and without the Service. The Unit because they would be drawn from the present outreach workers would be able to monitor work in Inner London in a non-threatening way. In having the whole of Inner London under their purview they would be able to transmit across London, ideas and practice in a way which only the Community Education Workers Group does at present, albeit in a very halting manner. The Unit should also be concerned with developments outside London, and should monitor these both nationally and internationally.

The Service in London whilst being rightly proud of its traditions and successes is often rather parochial. THERE IS a world outside the ILEA and we should be aware of it. Further, the Unit should seek to develop and maintain existing and new links between other adult and further education workers eg Extra-Mural, WEA. We would recommend that an early task of the Unit should be the establishment of a library of material useful to community education.

2. *Advisory*: This aspect would flow from the monitoring. Even allowing for local variation there must be "good practice" which has a London-wide application horizontally and vertically. Outreach experience has been spread too thinly throughout the Institute. Two present phenomena can be used as arguments to stress this point; first, re-organisation, has spread staff even more thinly on the ground, yet it has also meant such a shake-up of all staff that a golden opportunity presents itself to bring home to all staff the Authority's policy of positive discrimination; secondly, the loss of out-county students and the raising of fees should mean that the new Institutes should be looking at every possible means of increasing the take-up of adult education by the whole of the population of Inner London. This advisory role then, could be extended beyond full-time outreach workers to all staff, specialist subject heads, tutors-in-charge, part-timers and non-academic staff. We would not wish to suggest that the Unit will be the repository of all knowledge. They would expect to call on relevant experience and expertise where appropriate. As the individual community education worker can act as a link between the communities and the Institute, so the Unit could act as a link between the re-organised Institutes.

3. *Support*: By this we principally mean in-service training. As has been said many times, not least in this paper, adult education is at a point of transition. It is vitally important to establish a strong element of understanding of the multiplicity of cultures within London and the role and work of community education within in-service training as is being set up at present. The Unit would be in a strong position to make an informed contribution to this. The creation of the new posts of Head of Centre will also mean that there is substantial work to be done in demonstrating the scope and applicability of the outreach approach to those who have filled these posts; this will be especially pertinent where the heads of centre are drawn from existing specialist subject heads. Finally the in-service training should be extended to all non-academic staff. They are

often the front line of adult education and it is there too often the battle for the hearts and minds of potential students is lost.

4. *Seeding*: The fourth role we envisage for the Unit is to seed ideas. The success of the Aylesbury In-Service Action Research Project shows that it is possible in a limited way to inject a "shock unit" into an area, and if the preparations and the objectives are drawn up in a realistic manner, to achieve good results. The Aylesbury Project has far-reaching implications for community education both in terms of this and in terms of a concept of teams of community education workers. This becomes more urgent when it is realised that since re-organisation existing community education workers are spread even more thinly geographically and some areas are devoid of any at all.

The Inspectorate

Traditionally the Inspectorate has covered many of the aspects envisaged for the Unit. However, we feel that increasingly the Inspectorate are becoming overburdened and this role falls by the wayside. Further, we would argue that the Inspectorate often have a split function between adult and further education which often works to the detriment of adult education workers.

We would see the Unit as providing a relief for and a service to the Inspectorate who may not have the time nor the expertise in what is still a relatively new field. Given the seeming conflict between the Inspectorate's dual role of inspection and advice which at times can act as a barrier to those seeking help, the unit would interpose a non-threatening layer for consultation.

Summary

We believe that the creation of an advisory unit for community education is long overdue. It seems strange to us that one does not already exist in such a key area. Such a unit would help the Service assimilate the experience of the outreach experiment. Given the isolation of existing workers there is a tremendous need for support to produce a theoretical practice which goes beyond merely responding to immediate and sometimes extreme situations with little or no serious forward planning. The in-service spin-offs could be profound at a time when adult education is facing severe tests both in terms of financial stringency and re-organisation. Such a Unit could consolidate the gains of the past and help the Service meet the challenges of the next decade.

Chapter 9

PROVIDERS AND USERS MODELS

Nell Keddie and Stephen Parott

Note: This paper was the basis for discussion during the Autumn follow-up to the two practical weeks, held at Avery Hill.

We produced the following schematization of "providers" and community or "users" models[16] of adult education two years ago as working papers for the diploma course in adult education. The course was at that point engaged in a study of "community" education and diagram I was an attempt to make an analytical clarification of the manifold definitions of the term and the variety of practices that are claimed as "community education".

In its first stage the diagram had only two columns : the "mainstream" on the far left and the "radical" on the far right and it therefore presents as polar opposites the institutional centre-based practice of "mainstream" adult education and the kind of practice reported by Ashcroft and Jackson in Liverpool.[17] At a second stage we added the two middle columns, "disadvantage" and "outreach" thus creating an analytic framework based on a continuum. We thought that this might have a particular value in accounting for the tensions and contradictions experienced in the practice of outreach work in ILEA. Those appointed to "outreach" appointments within the ILEA have tended to hold radical views about the purpose and potential of adult education, to identify with a radical ideology and to reject the welfare model of education on which the concept of disadvantage is predicated. They have, however, found themselves in institutions in which this concept has not only been largely unquestioned but has also determined the mode in which resources for their work can be made available. It is not surprising that a conflict between a radical ideology and an institutional location should often have been resolved in practice by setting up "parallel provision" for those groups who do not normally use adult education.

Diagram II was produced when we were asked by the diploma course members to draw out the implications for in-service training for those working in community education. Rather than approaching this head-on, by trying to construct appropriate training schemes, we looked for the attitudes and skills which would logically belong to each of the four models. Thus the statements which appear in each of the four columns in diagram II are taken from sources which appeared analytically to explicate the characteristics of each of the four models, in terms of attitudes and skills which would be required of workers within each model. The sources we used included extracts culled in the form of statements from the East Midlands and North-West Regional Training Schemes for part-time adult education tutors (mainstream); extracts from *A Strategy for the Basic Education of Adults* published by

[16] See diagrams I and II – Pages 59 and 60.
[17] Ref. Report by Ashcroft and Jackson.

ACACE (disadvantaged); a paper *Initiatives for Restructuring Community Education* prepared by ILEA Community Education Workers (outreach) and Ashcroft and Jackson's study of their work in Liverpool:[17] *Adult Education and Social Action* (Community Work One, ed. Jones and Mayo) (radical).

Diploma course members were then asked to play a "game". Diagram I was pasted on a large board with four columns extending below it. Diagram II was cut up into 48 separate statements which were mixed up and put in a hat. Players were asked to draw statements out of the hat by turn and place each in one of the four columns and to justify why they had placed it there. There were four boards with five players to each board. When the "game" finished it was found that the majority of statements had in each case been placed in the two left hand columns (mainstream and disadvantage) and very few in the right hand columns.

Caught up as we had been with the internal logic of each model in relation to the other three, we had not anticipated this outcome. But we think this game and the way course members chose to play it revealed an important feature of all the adult education practices we had been examining within the framework. This is, that while "users" or "community" models aim to place the control of educational resources more firmly in the hands of users, they remain in a significant sense "providers" models. The initiative remains firmly with the professionals and they determine, no less than in the "providers" models the ends and the means appropriate to achieving them. Paradoxically, therefore, we may say that the "radical model" is a providers' concept of a "users" model.

These diagrams were produced as work in progress and as heuristic devices for discussion in a learning situation. The discussions we have had about them in the groups we have used them with, have pointed to many modifications which could be made but which have not been incorporated here. One of the most fruitful discussions for us was with the group of ILEA CEWs involved in the Aylesbury Project, and so we are happy that they should have a place in this Report. Had we worked on them further they would almost certainly look very different and we should have looked very carefully at the dubious methodology of diagram II, where we lifted a series of statements out of context. One of the reasons they are left as unfinished work is that the discussion of community education has moved on and in the context of issues about professionalism and the relationship of education to the State, a very different kind of analysis might be produced.

— *Diagram I* —

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— *Diagram II* —

The classification of teaching and learning modes.

To bring about a change in behaviour as a result of learning.

To recognise and analyse the learning needs and problems of students and select the appropriate teaching method.

To evaluate and discuss student and teacher performance and progress.

To create an educational situation.

Social, environmental and agency factors which help or hinder learning.

To relate to students with sensitivity and self assurance.

Motivations and expectations of teachers and students.

The present and suggested structures of continuing education and the philosophies on which they are based.

To offer counsel and advice to students wishing to advance their post-school education.

To organise, lead and evaluate discussion.

To design, make and use effectively appropriate learning and teaching aids.

To work with the old, the black, the working class, mothers and children.

To provide parallel provision for groups defined by their shared disadvantage.

To set up a class for a group of blind people.

To set up classes which are seen as entry points for present non-users into conventional AE/FE.

Special approaches to teaching for teaching people with different backgrounds.

To identify an adult in need and encourage him to seek help.

To deal with student anxieties and uncertainties often expressed through unresponsive and even aggressive attitudes.

To have a genuine interest in people and an unpatronising approach.

Understanding of the techniques involved in ... adult group management.

To recognise and utilise basic educational 'growth' points in both individual & group tuition.

Establish what difficulties an individual is subject to and attempt to remove obstacles by exposing him to the right learning situation.

To have an understanding of young people as human beings.

Develop contacts with those who do not use the existing programmes of *classes* (contact with group or with individuals towards developing a group).

Form a relationship with a group in order to encourage articulation of latent educational aspirations.

Provide a basis to review the traditional provision of AE service to make it serve the needs of a wider range of students.

Assist the development of all branches of the educational service as a resource capable of fulfilling the educational demands of whole community.

Understand education to be the process of maximising the learning potential inherent in any situation.

To redress the drastic imbalance between the class composition of the adult education student body and the population at large.

To be a resource for a local group.

To create education for the majority.

To become knowledgeable about, and trusted by, the local working class community.

To accept role conflict for the professional educator (where untrained people are involved in the teaching process & control method & content).

Exploration of new subject areas which may be controversial.

Research methodologies for making a neighbourhood profile.

To make educational resources available to local groups.

To find the means whereby a broad-based educational exercise can be dovetailed with social action.

Solidarity and fraternity. Should infuse relations between all those engaged in the various activities chosen by those who wish to learn.

Locally relevant education is about the availability of resources in the neighbourhood.

Develop an adult education strategy which will enable workers to determine for themselves the shape and form which education should take.

To identify with the issues that interest the people.

To break down the barriers between learning situations and the rest of life.

Respond to demands, liberating capacities, skills and experience of people in the community.

A knowledge of action-research methods including modes of participating evaluation.

Principles of intervention and action in relation to problems of inequality, resource allocation.

A theoretical perspective of intention.

To help community achieve its own goals.

Chapter 10

THE UNEASE OF THE OUTREACH WORKER

Sally Nicholls and Evelyn Murray

It is a feature of the recent history of ILEA Adult Education that community education workers have been closely involved in developing most, if not all, of the major new directions the Service has taken in the last ten years – literacy, ESL, Multi-ethnic work, educational home visiting and parent education generally, MSC links, provision for unemployed people, rights courses and tenants association work, preparation for retirement and so on.

In view of this record of contribution to the development of the Service, it is a curious fact that we have been aware of considerable tensions in ourselves as professionals, and a lack of a robust confidence in the value of our work to the Authority, whose officers have on numerous occasions in the past seemed to regard us with some hesitation, if not downright suspicion, and our activities as in some way subversive.

In relation to the Aylesbury Project, we felt that *our unease as a group manifested itself in:*

(a) A general uncertainty by individual workers about whether they could commit sufficient time to the Project. Almost everyone said, at some time or another, that the time factor presented difficulties for them, and that the Project would have been more suitably held at some other time of year, when more of the community education workers could more easily have given the requisite amount of time. However, when we got down to trying to identify, by consensus, this "more suitable time of year" it proved impossible. On reflection, we felt that a significant element in these reservations about timing may have been a rationalisation for our hesitations about committing ourselves wholeheartedly to the Project; we suggest partly because of our uncertainties about our professional role, and the anxiety associated with exposing these uncertainties to ourselves and our colleagues.

(b) Various members of the Project, when working on site, expressed their uncertainty about their role, in relation both to the employing Authority, and to the Project. On occasion, this uncertainty came to the surface in the way we presented the Project to the local people we met. One worker said he experienced difficulty in "getting over the threshold, ie of convincing local residents and professional workers alike that adult education is credible and relevant". Several others agreed that it was not easy to communicate simply and intelligently to people we met on the Estate, what we were about, without finding ourselves slipping into detailed accounts of the minutae of ILEA bureaucratic structures; which we felt were quite irrelevant, at the time of interview, to the immediate interests of the local residents we were talking to. Another worker said she felt we needed training in interviewing techniques; and in the daily diaries produced by the Project members, there is an account of at least one example of a group interview conducted by two workers which they felt

was less productive than it might have been because of their felt uncertainty about the ground on which they stood.

We agreed that we experienced less difficulty in communicating our aims to professionals working on the Estate. We consider that this is because we share a common bureaucratic language and certain common assumptions, due to educational background, training and our previous experience of inter-professional dialogue and co-operation. We acknowledge the fact that it is a source of personal conflict for many of us that we know that this esoteric language and all the shared assumptions are value-loaded; and exclude our consumers to some degree, and therefore represent keys to very real power over the way educational resources can be allocated.

One Project member summed up her feelings as follows : "educational arguments are very badly stated to the consumer – we are peddling an ideology which we do not make explicit".

The Project provided an opportunity to attempt to define some of the origins of our uncertainty, which invariably seemed to lead back to our place in the structure of ILEA Adult Education, the expectations of our employing Authority and colleagues, and our own expectations of ourselves; and the fact that in the past there has been very little official clarification of the position of the community education worker, nor any acknowledgement or clarification of the very real skills required in the job, skills in their own way equal to the subject and teaching skills of our colleagues.

Our perception of our position is that, whatever the theory officially propounded by the Authority and its officers, the CEW has in fact very often been regarded by local management as marginal to the Adult Education service, a position which has undoubtedly carried its own anxieties and tensions.

(a) *Whose side is the community education worker on?* If it appears through the eyes of the would-be consumers with whom the CEW is in touch, that the local adult education institute is failing to provide an educational programme which seems in any way relevant to their interests, the professional integrity of the worker requires the development of a critical stance.

Moreover, there are rigidities in the structure which determine that the CEW has to respond within fairly well-defined limits to expressed educational wants: education resources have to be delivered within very specific categories – tutor hours, for "acceptable" subjects, creche hours, teaching materials, and access to agreed sites (as far as these are all available), which may not seem to meet *actual* situations and requests.

The Project helped to clarify our tension and anger about this mismatch between the structures and terms of reference of the ILEA and its agencies, and the terms in which people were making demands on the education service. In our daily work we have been constantly trying to present AE in terms that encouraged people to use it, and then having to present to the Institutes activities and demands that were not compatible with their terms of reference. (cf the history of debates on vocational v non-vocational, panels, ratios, fees, enrolment procedures, etc, etc). CEWs have largely taken the tension between the structures they have to work in and people's real demands into themselves, constantly "bending, squeezing and fiddling" and the resulting stress has been damaging to the workers, and prevented dialogue between the people who controlled resources and those who wanted them. Too often schemes failed when the person "fixing" changed.

(Partly as a result of this stress we failed for some time to see the growth of parallel provision for the "disadvantaged" as the second class system that it really was. In

order to cope with the demands of day to day work we accepted "pool money", "ex-ratio" classes, and, worst of all "The Family and Social Panel" which institutionalised the notion that Adult Education was a *Social* Service for those with special needs, rather than a right for any adult who chose to follow it.)

Additionally, in relation to local client groups, actual and potential, the CEW controls access to a considerable volume of these well-defined educational resources, and has to take a range of decisions relating to their allocation. We therefore have to be aware of what is involved in carrying out this responsibility – ie how far do we ourselves monopolise access, by allowing access only where we think fit? Alternatively, how far do we see ourselves involved in participative education, making quite clear what resources are available and consulting on ways in which they might be used.

Moreover, in allocating scarce resources to one group, by definition we deprive other groups; but we rarely consider this, political, dimension of our work.

(b) *What does it mean to "consult the community"*

Within the ILEA structure, the CEW is conventionally seen as the member of the Institute staff team whose role is to "consult the community". But how far is this consultation real, and how far is it a mere gesture? The Project gave us the opportunity to review the processes by which consultation is carried out; and also to acknowledge that these processes have their limitations – limitations often resulting from the fact that, in the past anyway, ILEA community education workers have been lone agents working to adult education institutes covering very substantial local populations.

(1) Interviewing people on their doorsteps and on walkways is an effective way of advertising the existence of an interested adult education institute in a locality (although this process may or may not attract people to attend), but it is likely to result only in the compilation of a fairly random selection of views about evening classes, "night school" and other more or less related topics.

It is possible that in carrying out an intensive interviewing programme on a large estate, a number of individuals with a common interest (eg playing football) could be identified and put in touch with each other, but this is less than what we mean by "consulting the community" about how it wishes to use educational resources.

(2) Which community? As was born out by our experience on the Aylesbury Estate, people have different concepts of their own particular communities – we discovered, for example, from our interviews, that most people did not relate to the Estate as a whole, but to individual blocks or groups of blocks of flats, and some to the side streets at the periphery.

The Aylesbury also has *communities of interest*, eg the tenants' groups, the parents' groups associated with particular schools: *and communities defined by age*, eg the teenagers who gathered on the walkways and at the chip shop, and the elderly people who had lived in Walworth for many years and expressed anxieties about going out in the evenings. All these, and other, communities exist side by side, overlapping to some degree, and each is likely to have both latent and expressed educational wants and needs to which the local adult education institute might respond through the agency of the CEW.

(3) Because of limitations on our own time and personal resources, CEWs therefore tend to take short cuts in forming their impressions of a local neighbourhood, by consulting local people who may in some ways be regarded as "key" in local community networks.

We consult those who may broadly be described as professional social and community workers and educationalists, who have day-by-day contacts in their

working capacity with local residents; but, in doing so, we are well aware that their assessment of local educational needs will be slanted by their own personal, professional and service perspectives, and are probably not a true reflection of local opinion at all.

In the absence of an expressed local consensus, we listen to those who have formed a view based on their experience; but we also have to use our professional judgment in attaching more weight to some opinions than others. It is likely, for example, that we would be more ready to accept the opinion of the education welfare officer we met who had long experience of visiting school refusers and their parents, in their homes, who spoke sympathetically about their difficulties and sounded as if she was generally on their side, in preference to that of one worker we encountered who talked fearfully as if she regarded the Estate as an inner city jungle which she was relieved to leave at the end of each day.

We also consult local community activists, ie those local residents who have become very actively involved with particular local causes and issues, and are likely to have assumed positions of leadership in local community groups. These local people have usually amassed a good deal of local information and built up their own networks of contacts which can be very helpful to the CEW; but again we are aware that for the purposes of "consulting the community", to identify educational interests and needs, the activist may be no more representative of the views of his/her neighbours than any other local person. However, we also tend to support individuals and groups who are relatively articulate and have good ideas which are ultimately translatable within the constraints of the resources – the tutor hours and so on – which we have to dispense; and these individuals and groups are often also the activists.

For lack of a more obvious and effective consultation procedure we regard all these people as the voice of local residents, and we have to gloss over the fact that their very position makes them a-typical. We often fail to assess the nature of negotiations between providers and representatives of community groups because we do not understand their role.

Inevitably our networks are created to promote particular aims, some of which arise from our concept of ourselves as workers.

It may be that finally some of our most effective grass roots consultation with local people about the interests, needs and wants of those who do not ordinarily attend adult education activities can be carried out within groups in our own Institutes who have only relatively recently become adult education consumers – the mother and toddler groups, the literacy, ESL, and basic education groups. Members of these groups attend over a period of months, and therefore build up their own picture of adult education and what it has to offer, and the kind of relaxed, informal approach possible within an AE programme; and they get to know members of an Institute staff with whom they can talk freely. They also often have their own links with their neighbours and local neighbourhood groups, and we would do well to encourage them to consciously help us in the process of identifying local educational needs and wants.

(c) *"Assessment of needs"*

Another important professional activity ascribed to the community education worker in ILEA strategy is the "assessment of educational needs" in local communities, through the process of consultation considered above; and the communication of that assessment to the local Institute. This puts the CEW potentially in a position of considerable responsibility and places a very heavy reliance on the judgment of the individual worker. We ourselves are conscious that we need further opportunities

to consider this aspect of our work, and how we form these judgments; the process by which educational "needs" are assessed, how far we are "playing God" by ascribing to people "needs" which may differ from the "wants" that they themselves express. As people, we are shy of assessing what others "need", if they themselves do not say so; and yet the real acceleration of the growth of the literacy movement both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, provides a very good historical precedent for educationists taking up and positively offering to the many an opportunity whose need was initially actually articulated only by isolated small groups.

The Aylesbury Project also helped us to focus up how far we as workers reflecting the total current perspective of the Adult Education service go out to look for needs, disadvantages, deficiencies, pathologies to which we can attempt to apply the remedy of tutor hours, class materials and so on, in order to justify our own activities in terms which harmonise with the felt expectations of us as the Authority's remedial/disadvantage workers (or social conscience?; a duty which seems incidentally at present to be passing to the ESL, Literacy and Basic Education workers). We are professionally at a loss if, encouraged to seek for deficiency, we find good humour, strengths and resiliences, expressed wants which may not particularly match what we have to offer, and resourcefulness counterbalancing disadvantage. Met with these responses we have to reconsider the nature of the partnership we have to offer to our local communities. Within the best traditions of adult education, we have to learn to consult more fully on an equal basis, treat our consumers as adults and allow them to set our agenda with us. As an Adult Education Service we feel that we need to learn and relearn and go on working at the whole process of developing participative consultation with our potential consumers, as adults, in an equal partnership.

Other questions broadly relating to the "assessment of need" were brought to the surface in the discussions held during and after the Project. For example, if we are genuinely assessing priority needs in different geographical areas of Inner London, why do we all come up with such similar formulae – eg activities for mothers and toddlers? Yes, we consider this group is a priority group throughout the Inner City; but it is *also* an acceptable group that is relatively easily found and gathered together, fairly highly motivated and on the whole attractive and lively! Do we give lesser priority to groups who are less easily identified, contacted and organised, less highly motivated and less attractive eg down-and-outs?

One of the stated aims of the Project at the outset was: "for the people on the Aylesbury Estate: an assessment of expressed and unexpressed educational needs plus proposals for structures to meet those needs". As is shown by the section describing what has happened on the Estate since the Project, work started within a very short time on building some responses to educational needs expressed during our Survey. However, we are also agreed that it is difficult to evaluate our success or otherwise in making a satisfactory assessment of educational needs of adult living on the Estate.

Limiting factors were firstly, shortage of time: we believe that thorough assessments can only be made by working in and getting to know an area over a long period. For nearly all of us, the process of familiarisation with the area had to be absolutely from scratch, since the Aylesbury was an unknown estate in an unfamiliar area, and we had to rely heavily on the views of local professionals and others who sometimes differed in their opinions; and it was impossible to check these individual impressions within the time span allotted. Other factors which made a full and objective assessment difficult were brought to light by the Project, and have already been discussed, ie our assessment was bounded by the structures within which we were operating; and we were working within a preconceived notion of deprivation.

(d) *The community education worker as "professional"*

In relation to our work, we were uneasy about the notion of "professionalism" and its implication of a shared ethnic and standards of operation, which include group solidarity. It also implies skills and knowledge which are not accessible to those outside the group (of the BMA, Law Society etc) and may lead to restrictive practices. All this is uncomfortable for people who incline to a "users" model of education.

Confronted by the demonstrable subject and teaching skills of our colleagues, we reviewed our own role and practice, and considered the ways in which we could think of ourselves as "experts". If the CEW's role is that of "catalyst", how far is the notion of expertise appropriate to this function, anyway? If CEW's are merely "fixers", simply holding keys to networks, is our status derived mainly from our success in "fixing".

In any case, the notion of "fixer" or catalyst carries a suggestion of neutrality, which cannot be sustained when we consider the way in which we actually approached the Estate, through the network of caring professions with whom we shared an ethnic of professionalism, and through the representatives of local organisations – both intermediaries, as has already been noted, with their own axes to grind.

We listed what we thought were the skills needed for the successful performance of our work. These included (though not necessarily listed in order of importance):

(1) to think imaginatively, to see possibilities;
(2) to create and maintain up-to-date, working networks of appropriate contacts in local statutory departments, voluntary agencies, and community groups;
(3) knowledge of a wide range of community resources in addition to those available through the adult education institute, and how to mobilise them;
(4) interviewing (on occasion, counselling/advice giving);
(5) effective contribution at a wide range of group meetings;
(6) analysis, assessment and evaluation of information received;
(7) preparation of reports;
(8) communication of findings to colleagues in the staff team, and maintaining co-operative relationships with them, in the interests of our consumers;
(9) interpretation of requests received in terms of resources available;
(10) ranking of priorities to enable their effective allocation.
(11) organisation of resources to meet needs, sometimes to improvise!

It is therefore a further source of unease when we realise on reflection, that these skills should be those developed by ANY conscientious worker in adult education; and this ambivalence about our role is clearly focused up in our recommendations to the Authority, when we suggest that projects like the one we carried out on the Aylesbury should be the responsibility of all members of an Institute staff, not just the outreach workers.

It may be that the role of the CEW is redundant and that the new Institutes need to carry through what has been learnt about opening up the education process to non-participants in all aspects of their work. However, it is likely that there wili remain work for generalists making local contacts and assessing the developments in educational demand so that other colleagues can work on them with the potential students. There is a tendency to suppose that "user" based models of Adult Education will be more radical and democratic than existing models, but there is no logical reason why they should not be more elitist and more reactionary. Their ideology will depend on the participants' own.

(e) A clarification by the group which met at Avery Hill of the *agreed value-commitments of community education workers*

(1) Education should give individuals and groups a chance to express themselves and to gain satisfaction from so doing. Adult Education is about gaining confidence through learning together in groups; and enabling people to develop social skills and relate to others, engendering/caring/sharing/co-operative attitudes rather than competition.

(2) We believe that there should be a freely available Adult Education service, not one which is limited to those who can "buy" it at one end of the scale, and those who can "beg" a means-tested service at the other, with nothing for the majority in between.

We agreed that it seems to be the rule in our society that the more education you receive, the more you can get; and we are especially committed to the wider involvement of those who have minimal access to the education resources.

(3) Finally, we regard adult education as an agent for social change, putting the processes of change more within people's control, by increasing their awareness and knowledge of choices available to them; and enabling them to affect their social conditions. It follows that we are therefore committed in principal to encouraging maximum participation by the users of the service in decisions affecting the use of adult education resources.

As a consequence of this value orientation, philosophically CEWs incline towards a "users" rather than a "providers" model of adult education, as defined by Stephen Parrott *et al.*

Chapter 11

FEARS OF STREET VIOLENCE IN THE INNER CITY: SOME QUESTIONS FOR THE ADULT EDUCATION SERVICE

Sally Nicholls

The recommendations contained in this Report take note of the fact that a number of people on the Aylesbury Estate, particularly in the older age group, said they preferred not to open their doors after 4.30 pm; nor to go out at night. We concluded that the Estate suffers from a certain low level of almost continuous vandalism and personal attacks, as is indeed characteristic in many inner city areas. The Metropolitan Police have recently indicated that over 12,000 people were attacked in Inner London in 1981[18] including robbery with violence, and sexual assault; moreover, only one incident in four is said to be reported. We know of other Estates in the Southwark Area where women are afraid of being left alone *inside their homes* in the evenings.

It is our experience that a single incident in a neighbourhood raises anxiety levels disproportionately. One incident reported through five people tends to become five incidents; but whatever the reality, the result is to isolate people from each other, and to erode the fabric of such social organisation as does exist, and it seems likely that current decisions (Spring 1982) relating to public transport in London, will effectively reduce bus services and mean that even fewer people will be out on the streets in the mid/late evening.

Since violence features so importantly in public perceptions of life in the Inner City, the adult education service, concerned as it must be with educating attitudes on significant issues, cannot afford to ignore it in the hope that it will somehow go away. A service which wishes truly to engage with the lives of local people must take it into account.

A. EXISTING WORK *should be reviewed with this in mind*

1. The Authority should encourage each individual Institute to review its work in the light of local conditions. Staff groups should be encouraged to consider their own personal attitudes and the effect of personal fears of violence on their work and staff morale. Especially – to what extent do our own fears of violence reduce the availability and effectiveness of the service we offer, particularly in the evenings? To what extent are our fears realistic, and what can be done to minimise their effect?
2. We should particularly look for ways of encouraging and resourcing local initiatives which build up communications between people and allow trust to grow eg local experiments in women's "dial a bus" services; and perhaps make deliberate attempts to encourage people to come to classes in groups. We welcome the present initiatives on self-defence classes for women, and consider that provision should also be considered for members of minority ethnic groups.

[18]The Annual Report of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners 1981.

3. How many of our Institutes run small programmes in branches in ill-lit streets with entrances which are difficult to find? Should we withdraw from these buildings, emphasising work in branches closer to local shopping centres and main thoroughfares? Or should we deliberately concentrate on building up the adult education presence in areas where it is patently needed – giving special attention to better lighting and easier access.
4. Should resources be diverted away from trying to continue to run classes on evenings in December/January, when people are less willing to come out, in order to plan more extensive Summer programmes – including closing our centres only for as long as is necessary for cleaning? This would require not only changes in programme planning but also in staff attitudes – schoolkeepers would need to be closely involved in such a change of emphasis; and teaching staff would have to be willing to change their holiday patterns.

B. NEW EMPHASES

Despite our best efforts, it is still likely that many will remain indoors in the evenings, in addition to those who are truly housebound through sickness and disability.

Given adequate resourcing, avenues should be explored for taking education into people's homes by every means, using local television and radio, local newspapers, distance-learning packs sent through the post, telephone links; and also Institute based schemes of voluntary visiting such as have recently been discussed by the ILEA/Age Concern Project. *The emphasis in home-based work should always be on putting people in touch with each other, especially, perhaps, through arranging opportunities to meet to share outcomes.*

None of these new directions can be embarked upon without accompanying changes in staff attitudes, with a willingness to alter our well-tried practice, and develop new approaches. Small scale experiments seem to be called for.

Chapter 12

NOTES ON A VISIT TO DENMARK 19 – 26 FEBRUARY 1981 *BY MEMBERS OF THE AYLESBURY PROJECT TEAM*

1. *DETAILED TIME-TABLE:*

Friday 20th February : Briefing at the Danish Ministry of Education arranged by Paul Lyngbye of the Ministry from Mikael Sogard-Larsen of the Danish Pedagogical Library and Peter Looms from the Danish Radio's Education Department.

Weekend 21st & 22nd February : Background reading from material acquired at the Ministry. Seminar to define aims and objectives during visit to Ishoj.

Monday 23rd February : Trip is Ishoj arranged by the Ministry of Education. Morning: Welcome and briefing with the Mayor, Per Madsen and the Director of Schools Kei Garulf.

Visit to Gildbro Folk School with Deputy Schools Inspector Anders Hannen. Meeting with the teachers dealing with immigrant children.

Afternoon: Visit to Strandgard Folk School and meeting with its Head Teacher, John Elensbak and discussions with him on the school and its problems, aims and objectives.

Tuesday 24th February : Trip to Ishoj.

Morning: Briefing from Deputy Director of Education, Arne Wichman and his assistant John Romlund. Visit to the Youth School and an Unemployed Youth Project. Meeting with teachers and workers.

Afternoon: Visit to adult education provision – Danish for Adults at Strangardskolen – 2 classes, one run by the AoF for women, one run by the FoF for men.

Discussion with AoF organiser Hans Knudsen and FoF organiser Paul A. Hegard Hansen.

Wednesday 25th February : Meeting with Ole Gay Peterson, national organiser of FoF for discussion on Danish Adult Education.

Return visit to Ishoj – No arranged visits.

Thursday 26th February : Informal visits to AoF and FoF offices and to alternative womens education project. Visit Fritidshjer – after school provision.

Seminars were held each evening to discuss and put into perspective the days events.

INTRODUCTION

The Danish Field Study Week February 81 was part of a self-determined in-service training for and by ILEA Community Education Workers. This took the form of a piece of action-research on a large new council estate in the London Borough of Southwark – the Aylesbury Estate. For two weeks in the Summer of 1980 two separate teams of Community Education workers drawn from all over the ILEA looked at this Estate in terms of its present and future adult education provision. The teams made contact with a wide variety of statutory and voluntary agencies, community groups, local workers and residents.

It was felt that it would be useful to broaden the depth of the study by looking at adult education in a comparative context and it was decided to attempt to include a field study trip abroad. A member of the British Council, Mr David Boak, who was at the time on secondment to the Frobisher Adult Education Institute, took part in the action-research project. He had previously spent some years in Denmark and felt that it would be useful to look at Danish Adult Education. It was Mr Boak who made the initial contacts for the February trip. The object of the field trip to Denmark was to broaden our perspective of adult education, to see if any comparisons could be made as to adult education provision in metropolitan areas and to act as a stimulus after our return.

(I) The Danish Education System – from briefing at Ministry of Education

Education in Denmark seemed to occupy a somewhat different cultural and societal position than it has in the UK. It seemed to occupy a far more central position and be perceived as a very real channel for social mobility. In our brief visit we felt that there was little of the alientation from the education system and its institutions that pervades many inner city areas in the UK. Overall Danish education from pre-school to adult education followed the European pattern in that it was generally more formalised and institutionalised. Central legislation played a more significant part in educational provision, yet in Denmark there was scope for local autonomy and parental involvement and control.

Pre-School Education: From 3 months to $2^1/_2 - 3$ years, provision in nurseries, creches and registered childminders. This was all funded through the local authorities. There is means tested fee structure. Parental education is undertaken by an extensive system of health visitors with a stress on preventative care. Parental education as has been developed in the ILEA through such schemes as family workshops and Educational Home Visiting seem to be unknown. It was claimed that this provision covered 60% of the population.

Kindergarten: 3 years to at least 6, covers 50% of population, rising to 70–80% in urban areas. It is not statutory or free. Its teaching is informal with the stress on developmental education.

Folkschool: This is the main compulsory school provision. The Folkschool starts at age 6–7 with a non-compulsory reception class. Then follows 9 grades of schooling. The aim is to provide a child with the same form teacher throughout his/her school life. Each municipality has a school commission, $^1/_2$ of whom are elected and each school has a school board. Teachers are in a minority on this body which has some powers over curriculum.

Home-school links were said to be good and parental involvement was encouraged. Parts of the curriculum were laid down by the Ministry of Education, some had to be offered and taken, some had to be offered but were optional and some were optional in provision and take-up. School is compulsory to the 9th grade when a leaving exam can be taken or deferred until the 10th grade. There was said to be a counselling throughout the school which it was claimed followed the students beyond the school.

Further Education: Post Folkschool: This provision is non-compulsory but encompasses about 75% of school-leavers. There are 4 main options.

(a) Gymnasium – The equivalent of the 6th Form College. The curriculum allows for more specialisation leading to a leaving exam. Studentereksamen and possible higher education entry.

(b) Higher Preparatory Exam – HF : This is a two year course with day- and evening provision. The curriculum is more vocational and the setting is varied.

The exam can be taken on a single subject basis so that it is possible to build up the whole exam by passing one subject or even part of a subject at a time. The HF also acts as an entry qualification to most types of tertiary education.

The numbers entering the 2 options has increased dramatically in the last 10 years. It has grown from 8–10% of school-leavers to 40%. The HF which was introduced in 1967 has mushroomed, 500 students in 1967, 7,000 full-time and 24,000 part-time by 1979.

(c) Apprenticeship Schemes – these are vocational. They normally take 3–4 years and the educational aspects are organised by the relevant industry.

In the early 70s these seemed to be declining because of the introduction of the EFG(4) but latterly the numbers seeking apprenticeships seems to have been increasing again.

(d) EFG (Basic Vocational Education) – This was introduced in 1967. These are unpaid vocational sandwich courses taking between 3 and 5 years. There is a core curriculum followed by specialisation in one of over 400 fields. These courses are centrally funded. Part of the training is in industry but recently it has been harder to find placements. The EFG was initially very popular but does not seem to have lived up to earlier expectations. The previous 4 options cover 75% of school leavers. The rest are being offered special government training schemes which do not lead to any formal qualification but entitle a student to unemployment benefit.

Youth Schools : These are open to 14–18 year olds. They offer a supplementary school curriculum and recreational activities. They operate in the afternoons and evenings (The Folkschool finishes at 2 pm). It is possible to sit the leaving exams from the Youth School.

Adult Education (Information mainly from Ole Gay Petersen FoF)

There are 3 main adult education areas:

(i) General liberal non-vocational adult education.
(ii) Folk high schools.
(iii) Compensatory adult education.

We were chiefly concerned with the first of these. The folk high schools are residential colleges for adults. The courses are generally 5–10 months in duration. They are a legacy from Denmark's rural past and seemed to have declined in recent years. Recently some have been establishing shorter specialised courses for the unemployed, others run courses to which the unemployed are pressured to attend. They attract about 10,000 a year to the longer courses and 32,000 for the shorter courses. Since 1977 local authorities (the counties) have to provide courses to enable adults to take the school leaving exam. These are held during the day and in the evening. They are 2–4 years in length and are free. They are very popular, in 1977– 78 26,000 were attending courses at Folkskole level and in 1978–79 24,000 were attending courses up to HF level.

Non-vocational adult education comparable to UK provision is governed by statute. If 15 adults desire a particular class the local authority was obliged to provide it. The actual provision was organised by private sponsors. The nearest UK equivalent would be the 'Responsible Bodies'.

The two chief of these are the Workers Educational Association (AoF founded by the SDP in 1924) and the Popular Education Association (FoF founded by the Conservative Party in 1947). These organisations in fact are not operated in a political way and are fairly independent of their respective parties (since 1972 the Conservatives no longer fund the FoF). The organisations offer very similar curriculum and that is very similar to the adult education core of curriculum in the UK. Our over-all impression was that the adult education provided tended to be more formal in some ways. This would have been encouraged by the way the adult education organiser's salary is calculated – they receive 10% of each tutor's salary. This makes a powerful disincentive to experimentation. There certainly seemed little akin to the type of community education initiatives that have taken place in the UK.

(2) Ethnic Minorities

One of the central features of our time in Denmark was looking at the provision of Danish as a Second Language. Denmark has a population of 5.1 million of which 100,000 are non-Danish. Of these 25,000 are from other Scandinavian countries and 25,000 from the EEC and the other 50,000 are migrant workers, (in the main they are Yugoslavs, Turks and Pakistanis).

The first two groups above cause less obvious problems to the authorities. However, Denmark's inclusion into the international labour market is beginning to cause concern. In the 1960s there was an influx of migrant workers usually taking low paid, un/semi skilled work. Since 1973 this has become permanent settlement. This has caused ripples in Denmark's fairly homogenous society. The state makes provision for the integration of immigrants especially in the area of Danish as a Second Language for both adults and children. If numbers reach a certain percentage the Folkschool must supply at least 3 reception classes to provide different entry points. In addition there are certain rights to mother tongue language and culture teaching.

(3) Ishøj

This was the core of our visit to Denmark. It is a new town (post 1970) some 30 minutes south of Copenhagen by train. It comprises of 3 population centres, 2 are based around existing villages and are fairly middle class. The third, and by far the largest centre, is around the railway station and town hall. It is a mixed community comprising of council flats, privately rented flats and private houses. The architecture is modern and starkly concrete.

Ishoj is served by an arterial road and a fast cheap rail link to Copenhagen. Much care has gone into the creation of community facilities and landscaping. Ishoj has the largest percentage of immigrants in Denmark. It is perceived as a problem area. 'Concrete Jungle' was a term we heard frequently in Copenhagen. Ishoj does have a very progressive local administration. The Mayor, Pers Madsen is a dynamic and nationally known figure. He is attracting to Ishoj some very able administrators. We should stress that in UK inner-city estate terms Ishoj seemed a paradise. Great efforts had been made to mitigate the starkness. We saw no sign of vandalism and the community facilities such as the Sports Centre, the Library and Shopping Centre were bright, well appointed and very well used by all sections of the local population.

During our time at Ishoj we visited 2 local schools, the youth school and some of the adult education provision. We were briefed by local officials.

We would stress that we endeavoured to use our time in Ishoj as an exchange of information and practice. We hope to be able to build strong local links and to reciprocate the hospitality we received.

Schools: We visited 2 schools Gildsbroken and Strandgard. The former was newer. It had very few immigrant children – 23 out of 800, with a 20:1 staffing ratio. Supplementary education was provided for immigrant children either individually or in small groups. The normal class provision

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was interrupted as little as possible. The Strandgard School was very different. Up to 38% of its children were from immigrant families and much more special provision had to be supplied The Head Teacher was very new and had problems with the existing staff appreciating the problems the immigrant children face. Neither school felt racism in school to be a problem. However, it did seem that the counselling system was not as all encompassing as we had been told. One of the main problems in teaching Danish to both children and adults was the shortage of good materials. We have undertaken to send ESL material over to Ishoj and this would be a fruitful area for our Ishoj colleagues to pursue.

Youth School: The youth school we visited served 14–18 year olds (also those to 25 if unemployed). The tuition was free. It operated in the Folkschool in the afternoon and evening. It offered school subjects as well as recreational activities. 12 students are needed to form a class. The workers did some detached work when the project began but now reach 40% of its target group. It had some links with local industry. A disruptive unit with 10 pupils meets at the school in the mornings. There was also an unemployed project.

Adult Education: 4 associations operated in Ishoj in conjunction with the local authority which provides half the available funds. The AoF, FoF and LoF (connected to the Liberal Party) were active. Recently an association of immigrants has formed – OFFI.

The local authority distributed the programmes of the different associations which were in different languages. There was virtually no difference in the types of education offered by the associations and choice of class was not made with reference to the politics of the providing body. Fees for classes were between 65–75 kroner (£4–£5) for 56 hours of tuition. The education went on in school buildings where there were problems in obtaining day-time space. Some training – 38 hours was given to tutors, who were all paid at the same rate. The local authority co-ordinated its adult education provision through a tribunal of adult education on which the private associations sat. It seemed similar to the consultative councils as advocated by Russell although it had 'teeth'.

We visited two Danish as a Second Language classes – one organised by the AoF for Pakistani women and one organised by the FoF for Pakistani and Turkish men. Again there seemed to be problems with suitable material as well as obtaining good well qualified teachers. The teaching in the men's group seemed rather formal. Denmark has a separate provision for DSL classes for refugees. There are stringent regulations covering Special Needs/Ex-ratio provision and reduced fees. This limits the scope of the DSL provision: for example, there is difficulty in the provision of linked-skills courses and advanced classes. There is a lack of recognition of the need for creche facilities alongside adult classes, which is a severely limiting factor.

(4) Danish Adult Education: Conclusions

It is always invidious undertaking a comparative study in so short a time. Cultural differences are crucial and are difficult to absorb sufficiently. Generally education as a whole seemed well integrated with great emphasis on vocational and re-entry into the education system. Danish adult education seemed more stratified than in the UK and what experimentation takes place is not put onto a formalised footing.

Denmark's small language population mitigates against extensive adult education publications therefore it might be advantageous for the Danish Ministry of Education to investigate ILEA publications and materials.

However, we were impressed with the very high inclusiveness of the provision and the high standard of its publicity and presentation and overall atmosphere of the facilities.

The week certainly provided the type of broadening stimulus we were seeking. It provided a viewpoint from which we could see anew our own work.

APPENDIX I

AYLESBURY PROJECT, SUMMER 1980

List of participants :

Project Leader	:	Jim Anders, Principal, Frobisher Adult Education Institute
Secretariat	:	David Boak, on attachment to Frobisher Institute from the British Council Sally Nicholls, Frobisher Institute Dan Taubman, Greenwich Institute

TEAM "A" : 16 – 20 June

Beverley Campbell	Frobisher Institute
Anne Coltart	Montefiore Community Education Centre
Maria Cook	Chaucer Walworth Institute
Mike Cushman	Holloway Institute
Ivan Gibbons	Addison Institute
Mary Hughes	Central London Institute
John Humphreys	Eltham Institute
Dewi Jones	Llandaff Adult Centre (Area Principal elect)
Janice Saunders	Wandsworth Institute
Liz Thompson	Churchdown Institute

TEAM "B" : 7 – 11 July

Kundry Clarke	Frobisher Institute
Lynne Garrett	Clapham and Balham Institute
Iris McKibbin	Fulham and South Kensington Institute
Evelyn Murray	South Lambeth Institute
Maureen Taylor	Clapton Institute

APPENDIX II

AYLESBURY PROJECT: WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED?

A CALENDAR OF EVENTS JANUARY 1980 – AUTUMN 1981

14 January 1980	Jim Anders' proposals for an in-service training project for community education workers employed by ILEA sent in draft form to Peter Clyne, Assistant Education Officer, and to Brian Leighton and Maurice Cook, members of the Inspectorate.
22 February	Jim Anders agrees to make enquiries among the CEWs to see if they would be interested in becoming involved. Draft proposal circulated to CEWs asking for response.
29 February	Some discussion of the proposal at the CEWs' regular meeting, and an invitation to Jim Anders to attend their next meeting on 28 March.
	During March, some work beginning on the Aylesbury Estate – Frobisher Adult Education Institute agrees to fund classes at the Walworth and Aylesbury Community Arts Trust (WACAT) in anticipation of re-organisation.
17 March	David Boak attends the Aylesbury Joint Meeting (a monthly forum, largely attended by paid social and community workers employed on and around the Estate) to introduce himself, the Adult Education Institute and the possibility of the Project.
28 March	Community education workers' regular meeting. Jim Anders attends to introduce the idea of the Project. Agrees to circulate CEW's to ask who is definitely interested, and what are their areas of interest. CEWs set up a working party to meet further with Jim and consider the Project.
25 April	Working Party meets to set aims and objectives, consider what resources would be needed and what should be the next steps. Two possible weeks fixed for concentrated work on the Estate 16 – 20 June, 7 – 11 July, and a secretariat, Sally Nicholls (CEW Frobisher Institute) and Dan Taubman (CEW Greenwich Institute) appointed.
29 April	Jim Anders and Sally Nicholls meet the Director of Social Services for the Borough and Ken Addis the Intermediate Treatment Officer, based on the Aylesbury and refer to the Project.
2 May	Further discussion by CEWs as an item on the agenda of their regular meeting.
2 May	Letter from Jim Anders to Peter Clyne making a formal proposal that the scheme should be given the Authority's support as an in-service project. Authority accept the scheme mid May.

6 May	Jim Anders, Sally Nicholls, David Boak meet with Dr Tony Gibson of the Education for Neighbourhood Change Unit at Nottingham University and invite him to make a contribution to the Project on the development of his thinking about local participation in decision-taking.
8 May	Sally Nicholls and Dan Taubman meet with David Boak to plan the detail of the two weeks work. In this and subsequent meetings (15 May, 23 May) an outline is set for the compilation of an area profile of the Aylesbury Estate.
15 May	David Boak sends out a letter to local voluntary and statutory agencies on and around the Estate, introducing the Project.
19 May	Jim Anders, Sally Nicholls, Mary Marsh (educational home visiting co-ordinator) David Boak attend the Aylesbury Joint Meeting to discuss the Project. A letter is sent out by the ILEA during May to all Adult Education Institutes inviting all who are interested to meet Dr Tony Gibson at the sessions he is running for the Project on 16 June and 8 July.
22 May	First meeting of the team to be involved in the first week's work, held at the Aylesbury Day Centre in the morning. Sally Nicholls reports on developments so far, David Boak introduces his draft of the Area Profile. Preliminary discussion led by Dan Taubman (Leader, Team A) on an approach to the first week. Meeting followed by a walk round the Estate.
22 May	First meeting of second week's team with similar agenda; discussion led by Sally Nicholls (Leader Team B).
27 May	Planning meeting at Aylesbury Day Centre with local professional workers Ken Addis Intermediate Treatment Officer, Margaret Coles Home School Liaison teacher, Maria Cook Chaucer-Walworth AEI, Ken Whitfield from Social Services area team. Attended by Jim Anders and Maurice Cook, the two team leaders and representatives of both teams. The meeting discussed the geographical area to be covered, additional workers and agencies who should be informed, resources for the Project, and some preliminary ideas about the adult education needs of the area.
30 May	Jim Anders writes to Jessie Fillery, Acting Principal of Chaucer Walworth Institute to ask whether a room, a telephone, secretarial assistance, could be provided as a base for the two teams at Walworth School, the Headquarters branch of the AEI on the fringe of the Estate. He also enquires about the availability of resources for follow-up.
2 June	Aylesbury Joint Meeting – Representatives of both teams attend to discuss the Project. David Boak undertakes to arrange for the typing of a directory of local organisations currently being compiled by WACAT.
9 June	Second planning meeting of Group A at the Aylesbury Day Centre.

11 June	Sally Nicholls and Dan Taubman meet Nell Keddie of London University Extra Mural Department for a discussion to help them clarify their own ideas. Nell draws an essential distinction between the in-service component and the action research component of the Project, which is to assist with later discussions.
11 June	Sally Nicholls meets with Jessie Fillery to finalise practical arrangements for the following week.
16 – 20 June	Week 1 on the Estate.
	16 June 2 – 5 pm. Meeting of Project team A with Dr Tony Gibson, who discussed the development of planning/advice packs and the construction of neighbourhood models to assist participation of local people in decision taking about their own localities.
	16 June 6.30 pm. Sally Nicholls presents report on the Project to members of the ILEA Further and Higher Education Sub Committee as part of a joint presentation by ILEA community education workers.
	18 June am. Project team A meets with Mary Monteith Guy's District Health Education Officer, formerly a health visitor on the Aylesbury, who had carried out some research on the incidence of depression in the Estate.
	pm. Members of both Project teams meet with Ruud Van der Veen, of the University of Nijmegen Department of Social Sciences, who describes the community education project based in his unit.
19 June	Sally Nicholls and Dan Taubman meet with Jim Anders to give a progress report on Week 1.
24 June	Second planning meeting of Group B.
25 June	The Staff Policy Group of Frobisher AEI meet with members of the two teams to discuss the Project.
30 June	Aylesbury Joint Meeting gives a progress report on the Project.
2 July	Team A meets to summarise its findings and discuss them with Jim Anders.
4 July	Members of both teams meet for a "handover" session.
7 – 11 July	Week 2 on the Estate.
	Tuesday 8 10 am – 12 noon. Team B meet with Tony Gibson.
	(Other possible formal sessions are scrapped at the suggestion of Team A who felt that they had taken up precious time when they could have been out on the Estate).

3 September	Team B meets Jim Anders to summarise findings (i) It was agreed that a suggestion for a CEW/Head of Centre for the Aylesbury, based in Walworth School, should be included in the staffing proposals for the new Southwark Institute. (ii) In the meantime, as a holding operation, Sally Nicholls agrees to base herself at Walworth School for the time being to keep a watching brief on developments in the Estate.
25 September	Follow-up letter sent to all members of the Project.
4 – 6 November	Members of both teams meet at Avery Hill for reflection on the two Project weeks. Nell Keddie leads a session on the theoretical base of community education.
24 November	Meeting of Project members to plan write-up and to contribute preliminary drafts.
1 January, 1981	Re-organisation of ILEA-Adult Education Institutes: the three serving Southwark are amalgamated into a new Southwark Institute, with Jim Anders as Principal, Dan Taubman appointed as Head of Centre for the Aylesbury Estate.
19 – 26 February	Trip to Denmark by Project Members.
Late Summer	Meeting to discuss draft report prepared by Sally Nicholls in collaboration with Dan Taubman, Kundry Clarke, Evelyn Murray, Jim Anders.

APPENDIX III

AYLESBURY PROJECT: EXTRACTS FROM THE DAILY DIARIES KEPT BY PROJECT WORKERS, ILLUSTRATING HOW THE TEAMS WORKED. (Certain names of people and places have been rendered anonymous where considered necessary for reasons of confidentiality)

WEEK I

(a) DAY I : PLANNING MEETING (Dan Taubman)

The group met at Aylesbury Day Centre on Monday morning. While David Boak laid out the profile materials the rest of the group began the session. After deciding that we should each hand in a written report every day and that we would have a session each morning, we moved on to discuss people's personal agendas for the week – summarised these were as follows:

(1) Desire to work on new estates and desire for geographical change;
(2) Being with other CEWs – gain new insights and skills;
(3) Three of the group were new appointments;
(4) Desire for a change of Institute;
(5) Desire for working out of theory and practice with colleagues.

After collecting our profile material the group began to work out an approach. 2 were delineated:

1. Issues orientated approach – picking out what it is felt would be the main areas of work – a "providers" model;
2. Geographical approach – taking blocks and their adjacent areas, door knocking and contacting the professionals nearby.

After discussion it was decided to follow the latter approach. We need to examine why we did this and look at the theoretical implications behind each approach.

(b) DOORKNOCKING : TUESDAY MORNING (Dewi Jones, Mary Hughes)

Of 14 flats visited, 9 no reply.

1. First visited ex-caretaker's flat; had given job up due to ill health, wife (60s) came to door, but only opened it a little – said not interested in AE didn't know why – was very suspicious – did say had no children at home as if this were a reason for not being interested.
2. Met sister of OAP man who lived in flat, she was cleaning for him – said had arthritis – couldn't go out but has obviously walked from own flat to brothers – said had no time – didn't belong to clubs neither did brother (he was out) watched TV at night.
3. 52 year old grandmother, 4 children, 2 still at home one at school still. First reaction "I don't want to go back to school" – went to grammar school – has an evening job and said had no time in the daytime, child came home from school for lunch – daughter was a teacher in Hackney and went to Mary Ward and City Lit. for philosophy – obviously this was discussed with her. Liked living in area – said world would be better if we were all colour blind atheists.

She said always *wanted to write* but everyone does don't they – very lively, but happy to see future through children and grandchildren. Husband water borer – his main interests – crosswords.

4. This was a 69 year old Italian Jewish lady, and her husband who has had two strokes, no children, now had ulcerated legs but until 4-years ago worked part time for 17 years at a gambling club in Park Lane doing the flower arranging – education doesn't put her off but won't go out after 4 pm – knew of one woman who had been mugged last week at 2.30 pm - on Monday goes to Bingo at Day Centre and Tuesday to Surrey Square for Bingo also prefers to stay in, not a socialiser – said some old folks are greedy and are always grumbling, young people must also have something. After initial suspicion was invited in to see her flower arranging which she used to work at – said would be prepared to demonstrate.

(c) TUESDAY, 17 JUNE (Ivan Gibbons)

Visited Community Centre run by a Management Committee consisting of local professionals but no tenants' representatives. At present the Centre houses a youth club run by the ILEA 5 nights a week with black youths (not from the Estate) and white girls on different nights. The Community Centre itself (run by Southwark Council) is open three nights a week and puts on the staple fare of bingo, dances and wedding receptions. There are plenty of spare rooms available.

As regards use of the Centre, there is friction between tenants and residents living in church housing on the fringe of the estate. The tenants refuse to let the latter use the Centre because they are not tenants and the residents are bitter about this because they claim that their facilities (church, church hall) were demolished to allow the flats to be built on the understanding that residents could use any facilities planned These "fringe" residents live in well-kept church cottages and are respectable white upper working class, whose roots in this area go back 100 years.

The Family Centre on Northchurch (funded by ILEA; Borough Social Services and Southwark Intermediate Treatment Centre) has a programme of day care attempting to avoid placing children in residential care. Referrals come from Health Visitors; Social Workers; Juvenile Bureau; local primary and secondary schools. There is a mother and toddler group and the centre provides facilities and emergency accommodation for parents "with difficulties" (alcoholism; battered wives; drug abuse). It also runs a "latchkey" club for local school kids (4 – 6.30 pm) with referrals from local headmasters.

We visited the WACAT Print Shop and Activities Centre on Wendover. The Activities Centre: I was impressed with as regards its potential. Already Drama is taught there to local school kids and the place has a flair for *wide* publicity though not an Estate itself. There is a pensioner's crafts club at the Activities Centre and an independent women's group meeting one day a week, doing crafts in the morning and health issues in the afternoon.

There is a Saturday morning photography class nearby and a mothers and toddlers group on the same site.

The few residents we spoke to on walkways liked their own flats but not the Estate. They also had lived in the area (either on the Estate or in the pre-Estate housing) most of their lives.

(d) HOUSE VISITING by Mike Cushman and David Boak

Pattern of Housing : (a) 2 Bedroom Flats with small gardens occupied by families with young children.

(b) Single Bedroom flats for OAPs up one flight of internal stairs.

1. 32 year old married woman with school children. Phone; took "O" levels at school but failed "A" levels. Would be interested in trying her "A" levels again but classes would have to be during the day – would not go out in the evening.

Mike agreed to send her details of "A" level courses in nearby colleges.

2. 30 year old Scottish woman with 2 daughters; works 3 days a week. Came to Aylesbury (to have a garden) after 4 years in a high level flat at the Heygate Estate. Would leave Aylesbury if she could, though liked the house and has made friends.

   Already does Keep Fit at Walworth in evenings and swims with family at the Elephant Leisure Centre.

   Might well be responsive to other provision.

Level 2

Pattern : Apparently all Single Bedroom (pleasant enclosed corridor)

3. 70 year old man with family nearby – attends Amersham Social Club once weekly.

   Said he wasn't interested in other AE provision but was clearly the type who might well be attracted once he saw something "new" happening.

4. 50 year old man (Single?) nightworker – 6 pm to 6 am. Not interested in AE.

Also

5. Mrs H – 45 years – very active member of Thurlow Lodge TA and organiser of events for the Aylesbury Festival. Particularly interested in the elderly.

   Husband plays the electric organ well (have one in the flat).

   Very attractive well furnished flat.

(e) VISITS BY Beverley Campbell, Janice Saunders, Ann Coltart

On Block A we visited the flats grouped in three's; visited every fourth set of flats. We talked to a variety of people of differing ages and ethnic origin. Time and time again people reinforced liking the actual flats but disliking the environment.

Youngsters tend to go off the Estate for leisure pursuits and the older folks tend to stay indoors or visit friends.

On Block A7 there seemed to be considerable lack of awareness of existing facilities on the Estate except for a retired couple who attend functions put on by one of the TA's and a middle-aged man who tried to become involved in activities but found the TA's disorganised. (He has returned from Australia to look after his aged mother.)

On Block B there is a distinct street atmosphere. Mrs K, Mrs E and their friend Mrs D are key people. They have organised Block B for the Jubilee celebrations, they are involved in festival arrangements. Mrs K is very much aware of the problems of adolescents on the Estate, especially the older ones - there are no provisions for them. She is interested in joining mother/toddler groups etc.

The Cypriot women were pleasant, talkative but uninterested in Adult Education.

Interests mentioned: Family Workshops, Old Time Dancing, Dress, Typing, Cookery, Sports, Mother/baby groups, Car Maintenance, DIY, Modern Languages and Gardening.

(f) FRIDAY AFTERNOON – Liz Thompson and John Humphreys

Visited two representatives of a tenants' association. Both were generally keen but disillusioned as they had tried things but with little success. They would appreciate help to get a crafts/art group started (evenings only). They are a weak TA but would like to see things improve. They would be prepared to travel a short distance to classes, ie as far as Aylesbury Day Centre. They have an adequate TA room beside the laundry 1st floor, with small kitchen/lavatory attached. This was originally designed as a shop. They seemed keen to have classes there.

(g) OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS COMPILED AT THE END OF THE FIRST WEEK'S WORK WHICH HELPED TO SHAPE THE PROGRAMME IN THE SECOND WEEK

General Summary of Impressions (whole group)

1. Our view of the Aylesbury was less pessimistic than a reading of the reports might suggest. (But we were only there a week in Summer.) The reports were based on years of frustration.
2. We feel that the best approach, would be to build on small local groups. To build up trust and confidence, an emphasis on service delivery, to establish a strong low key presence. We advise not to concentrate on estate-wide initiatives initially.
3. We found a generalised reluctance to go out on the Estate at night, and in the case of some of the elderly even during the day.
4. One positive feature seemed to be a commitment to the Walworth area and a fair degree of continuity.
5. There seems to be lack of co-ordination between groups on the Estate. Adult Education could play a key role in this area.
6. We did not see much evidence of any traditional adult education programme on or near the Estate. There is a paramount need for good imaginative publicity.
7. In-service training – we all enjoyed a team approach. We all came with mixed motives but there was a good degree of fulfilment of personal agendas. Group members with little previous experience of community education felt the week was a good introduction to the complexities and techniques of community education. A week was too short and the outside speakers could have been placed before or after the week.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE 2nd GROUP

(1) Identify gaps in the 1st Team's Work

(a) Youth provision – clubs, centres and after school provision.
(b) 16–19 year olds – Southwark College.
(c) Unemployment patterns.
(d) WACAT.
(e) Health Centre and nursery school.
(f) Libraries.
(g) Ward councillors.
(h) Churches – black and white.
(i) Pubs – possibly to meet with the men of the Estate.
(j) More nightwork and possibly weekend work.

(2) Key Areas

(a) Ethnic Croups – try Pentecostal church. Few blacks interviewed? because of shift work? Supplementary school at Cambridge House. Cypriots more cohesive. More work needs to be done on finding out whether there are networks.
(b) Unemployment – visit local office and careers office.
(c) Elderly – look at issues and visit local professionals concerned with the elderly. Visit lunch clubs. Possible concentration on (Block "C") for visits and door knocking. Possible suggestion – local/oral/living history as means of activating the apathetic? Liaise with local libraries and museums. Look at possibility of distance learning and

learning exchanges especially via cable radio, because of the general reluctance to go out at night.

(d) More door knocking and talking to people on the walkways. Look at possible publicity ideas. Check local shopkeepers, Health Centre windows, possibility of getting a stall on East St Market. Feeling that a lot of people alienated from education.

(e) Mothers and Toddlers Groups – revisit groups – possibly look at far more specific schemes with them.

(f) Try to meet specific needs mentioned, eg playgroup needs more play space; motorcycle workshop.

(g) Look at underused facilities – community centres, shops, garages.

(h) Tenant education – 2 of the 3 TAs would be happy to work with adult education on training although we feel that this should be done separately at first.

WEEK 2

(a) Monday, 7 July a.m. (Evelyn Murray)

Planning and co-ordinating meeting. Sorting out agendas, priorities, areas of interest, blocks to be visited. Reading Week 1 reports.

(b) Tuesday, 8 July

1.00 pm Co-ordinating meeting – discussion of visits and points arising from reports. Agreed that the final report must take account of and make recommendations on racism. Report reading and analysis for final report.

Visit to Pentecostal Church – open and lit up, but no-one there. Has a womans group and "bands" . Tried nearby Mission and the Church Centre and Social Club – both barred. Later the Social Club had a sizeable OAP Bingo Session. A passer-by said that "everyone" went to [another church]. Went to find it. Open, but empty. No notices. Rectory padlocked. Parish office open Monday 7.30 – 8.00 pm.

Visited "B" Block launderette. Two tenants interested in Adult Education but busy. One had a daughter doing Yoga and the other was interested in Dress at Michael Faraday. Left leaflets and prospectus folder.

Tenants Association premises – meeting in progress. Left leaflets. 45 sheltered flats – tenant in wheelchair definitely not interested. Met a Hindu lady on the walkway with a toddler end tiny baby. She seemed to speak very little English, but expressed an interest in classes. Took leaflet and prospectus.

Spoke to a young black couple who were very interested in classes. She particularly wanted a Nursery Nursing Course, having done the PPA Playgroup Leaders Course. She had worked in a Day Nursery but left in disgust at the attitudes of other staff and their hostility to the childrens' parents. We discussed the NNEB Course at Brixton FE and other local colleges which might have comparable courses. Gave them a leaflet and prospectus.

(c) Monday, 7 July (Kundry Clarke)

General Observations : Some very keen gardeners with balconies, window boxes and small garden plots.

Room for initiative by TAs – prize for best garden etc. Might be response to enquiries about gardens, plants, cuttings – possible interest to lead to classes or local, informal group.

Walkways – rubbish chutes smell. Water collects in deep puddles and cannot disperse because (a) surface is uneven and it cannot run away; (b) drains are blocked/ Vandal proof surfaces keep the general area looking good.

Staircases – not vandal proof and plenty of graffiti, ranges from adolescent obscene to NF with some pre adolescent input.

Maintenance – Passed 3 pairs of Borough men on walkway level in a single E/West crossing. 2 pairs working into flats one pair on move with tools.

Visible Population – raining – very few young women. Most middle-aged women, few elderly, surprising number of school-age kids hanging around.

Shops – Nearly half the shops in Westmoreland Road were closed before 3 pm.

Church School – notice on gate : Bingo tonight 8 pm.

BLOCKS A, B, C
Laundry Rooms – not vandal proof, very distressing – I personally would not wish to use one. The Council should be able to improve these with minimal expenditure.

Poster Points
Community Centre – Metal protectors over windows(?) at Walkway level. Could be bill-posted but posters would be vandalised. This landing appears to be the most heavily under attack by graffiti exponents.

School – Empty hoarding outside 51-76 block visible from road and walkway – belongs to Southwark Safety campaign.

2 call boxes at junction Beaconsfield Road/Thurlow Street – both functioning, also pillar box. Could be site for poster pillar.

Backs of boards with local site maps are visible from some walkways and could be used for poster with a telephone number.

Church – empty notice board in foyer, visible to departing congregation.

(d) Open Evening at (Junior School) 6 pm 8 July (David Boak, Kundry Clarke, Maureen Taylor)

Parents waylaid as they were leaving the school after discussing their children's progress with staff.

1. Mrs B-already attends dressmaking and keep-fit classes. Would be happy to distribute leaflets/prospectuses among friends.
2. Mrs R-already attends a Yoga class. Would like to receive information about a new programme.
3. Mr T-Father of very extended family; he has 7 grandchildren but youngest daughter attends school. He did attend Art classes "30 years ago" – send a prospectus.
4. Mr O-is blind and attends the Day Centre – making stools. He is interested to join craft classes and could be helped by attendance in ESL classes for improving his spoken English.
5. Mr & Mrs W-Husband works for Council on 24 hour call out. They feel it would be impossible to attend classes in a traditional timetable but – send a prospectus and also inform of one off projects and weekend family workshops.
6. Mr & Mrs F-17 year old son unemployed. Mother wishes information about "O" level courses, full-time and part-time for this boy, also careers advice.

Details of photography projects required for an older son working as a technician in secondary school.

7. Mrs C-would like information about shorthand and typing classes which she once started but then abandoned. She would also appreciate information about dressmaking classes.

8. Mr & Mrs Y – Mrs Y attends Spanish classes – "I couldn't learn languages at school but the class gave whole sentences and not too much grammar – I learned some things but then the class was closed". Mr. Y – hobby, collecting militaria has over 4,000 badges from UK, USA, Commonwealth and South Africa. Problems over display Of collection.

They have lived on the Estate for 8 years and would like a house with a garden and to keep a dog. Their son has a talent for music and his teacher has been attempting to convince them of this fact. Music Appreciation classes?

9. Anonymous lady suggested swimming for mums and kids but would be unable to take part herself for medical reasons.

(e) Meeting with Brook Advisory Centre (Iris McKibbin & Sally Nicholls)

The clinic employs doctors, nurses, counsellors, clinic secretary and receptionist. They are open 9.30 – 7.30 weekdays and Saturday mornings.

They do a lot of work in local schools and kids come along, often in groups, to the clinic. Lots of boys come with their girlfriends but many boys come alone for advice. Some have relationship problems but some are just lonely.

They are not linked with the school psychological service. They sometimes have young girls who the school can't handle referred to them. They often interview parent as well, usually mum. The social services often refer people to them and they refer people to other agencies, but always with the clients' permission.

The Clinic used to be totally independent but when the Family Planning Association was taken over by the Government, Brook got left out. They are agents for, and receive funding from, the Health district in which they operate (Guys Health District in this instance).

They find that girls are re-housed often a long way from family and friends, and there is a danger of them taking out loneliness and frustration on their babies. Girls are encouraged to come back to the Centre and keep in touch.

A quarter to one third of the girls seen are black – whose attitudes are very different from those of white girls. Not as many black boys as white come with their girlfriends, and very few come alone. They don't like their girlfriends using birth-control methods and they won't use any themselves.

Many girls do not like to start taking the pill before they start sleeping with a boy as they are afraid that this will give them a reputation for being immoral, and they do not like the unromantic, premeditation aspect of it.

They have almost all female doctors; exception is a male gynaecologist. The counsellor is female because the counselling is practically all pregnancy advice.

Statistics: SE17, 1979 January – June. 699 new patients, 25% lived in Guys district, half of the 25% were from the Aylesbury Estate. This is a very small proportion of the children who actually live there.

From the 699 January – December 1979. 24% new patients needing pregnancy advice. 314 were pregnant – 140 came back pregnant (second baby). The greatest part of the work deals with contraception and the majority of people who attend the clinic are there for "supplies".

They deal with an enormous number of unemployed and an enormous number of truants They see far more girls from the Catholic School nearby, which will not refer girls to them, than they do from the other local secondary school where they go about four times a year to give talks on the Centre and on contraception.

We found the Centre very welcoming and "womb-like" (Sally's expression). There was music playing, the decoration was pleasant and one got the impression that the sympathetic staff were definitely on the kids' side, which is probably why so many will go there when they refuse to talk to anyone else.

No definite suggestions on possible adult education provision.

(f) Meeting with 4 fourth year pupils at Walworth School (arranged through the Social Studies teacher) (Iris McKibbin – Sally Nicholls)

P. Has lived on Aylesbury for 5 years misses her garden. Both parents work (mother part-time). No idea what she wants to do when she leaves school. Taking 2 or 3 "O" levels plus some CSE's is considering staying on for an additional year.

L. Taking CSE's wants to go into the building trade. Might stay on at school if he can't find a job.

I. Turkish Cypriot girl, one of 5 children. Mother does home sewing, father has ice-cream van. Says she wants to leave home the minute she is 16. Wants to be a hairdresser. Is doing CSE's and "O" level English and Maths.

D. Has lived on the Estate for 6 years, preferred Kennington where he lived before. Father in building trade – D. is one of four children. Wants to be an apprentice in printing trade when he leaves school. Taking CSEs. Plays a lot of football in spare time, through school and with Balham in the Sunday league.

None of these kids attend local youth clubs. Prefer to "go out with mates and walk around". One sometimes goes to the pictures at the Elephant or in Peckham. None of their parents or friends go to evening classes.

None of them seemed very impressed with what the school offered in the self-sufficiency subjects. The boys had been offered domestic subjects in the third year but although D said he had enjoyed the cookery neither of the boys thought much of the sewing. The girls had had a chance to do woodwork but they didn't think they had learnt enough to do any home repairs. Child development was something which was learned by girls thinking of making their careers with children and I. had dropped this subject when she became interested in hairdressing.

The boys obviously saw themselves staying with mum and having their needs seen to, (although they all said that they had to help with the washing-up) until they married. They "supposed they might" have to take a hand in bringing up baby when the time came but it wasn't *their* fathers' role, and dad was seen as the bread winner who went out to the pub for relaxation.

None of the four seemed to have thought much about their futures or how they would survive on their own if they had to.

(g) Thursday, 10 July, Lunchtime (Iris McKibbin and Lynne Garrett)

When we reached H. Street, where we intended to door-knock, we discovered it was actually off the Aylesbury. The ambience was very different – Laura Ashley curtains etc. However, we made two calls. The first was to an elderly lady who said that in her day she had attended adult education, but, frankly, she was no longer interested and her immediate priority was to finish defrosting her fridge. The second call was with a 14-year old girl who was quite willing to talk.

Her mum played netball for her Bank, and both parents played squash at the Elephant. The young girl attended two Youth Clubs, and went to the local disco. She didn't go to a third club because "they are nearly all black". Yet she added that she had nothing against black people. She also said that she felt quite safe going out at night and went to the disco with a girl friend who lived on the Aylesbury.

As there was so little time we decided it would be more fruitful to walk back to base and talk to some of the youngsters who were on the walk-ways. We noticed at 1.15 pm that a policeman was on patrol.

The youngsters gave us very divergent views about life on the Aylesbury. A young black girl of about 12 was reluctant to talk but said that she went to the disco. She didn't seem to know what her parents did but they certainly watch TV. Her white friend said that her Mum went to Keep Fit at Cambridge House. Both seemed quite content. Two young white boys, again about 12, wandered up to us in curiosity. They both attended the local club and enjoyed playing snooker and table-tennis. They were *extremely* happy about living on the Aylesbury. We then spoke to three black teenage girls who said that they hated the place. There was a lot of aggravation and only yesterday 2 black girls had had a vicious fight. One of the three girls and her mother had since been transferred from the Aylesbury to a flat in Kennington, where they were much happier. The mother of the other girl had also applied for a transfer. The third girl said that her mother was quite happy living on the Aylesbury but she herself thought that her block was "a crap block – can't stand it – too quiet". The three girls still attended the disco but said that there was no way that their mothers would attend any sort of activity which may be provided.

(h) Meeting with the Senior Lecturer for new educational opportunities, Southwark College. (Kundry Clarke, Iris McKibbin, Sally Nicholls)

1. A range of courses available at Southwark College for 16 – 17 year olds. Information about courses could be obtained chiefly from departmental Heads for women returning to study.
   (a) A preparatory course funded by TSD – caters for a large number of women. 18 weeks full time 5 days a week.
   (b) TOPS (Typing/Clerical).
   (c) Course for women interested in returning to science; including a large element of self-timetabling (based on home study, telephone sessions, building up credits).
   (d) Access/Science course for women, leading to a modular degree course at one of the Polys.
   (e) Access/Ethnic minorities – linked to social science degree for social workers.
   (f) Part time courses in practical communications/numeracy (2 hours or more per week).
   But no creche facilities, though they have been fighting for some time – fairly optimistic that they will succeed.
2. There is no official objection to the College working off-site. Special cases could be made for not keeping to student ratios; and a special case would also have to be made for courses which take longer than usual to get established.

   Speed of response : for any special project requiring speedy response, the Principal could be approached for teacher hours. Otherwise planning usually a session in advance.
3. *Education/Training Activities*
   (a) Would parents welcome educational activities based around their children's future – eg information about industry/commerce as it applied to careers (Said ILEA parents meetings always well-attended)?
   (b) *Southwark College would be interested to co-operate in planning of Preparation for Work courses, off-site*
   (c) What about "What are your rights" sessions for elderly at lunch club on Bradenham? (Or something *they* expressed an interest in!)
4. *When the report of the Project is compiled we should arrange a meeting between Jim Anders, John Baillie and ourselves to consider short term and long term implications and co-operation.*
5. They are very keen to co-operate.

(i) Visit to Borough Job Centre, Union St., Borough, SEI (Lynne Garrett)

In the search to find out about unemployment in general on the Aylesbury Estate, one of the Chaucer/Walworth Literacy and Numeracy tutors suggested that a visit to the above might be helpful. It is also where he teaches literacy and numeracy on a Tuesday and Friday afternoon. I was fortunate that the manager was interested in our Project, and certainly welcomes any further visits from people who are involved in the Area.

It was impossible to secure specific statistics for the Aylesbury as the Job Centre covers the majority of SE1 and all of SE17, which naturally includes the Aylesbury. There are monthly statistics for total unemployment, male and female, and quarterly returns which break the figures down into age groups. In the time available they were able to provide the following statistics.

Total number of unemployed:	January 1980	-	2,805	
	February 1980	-	2,715	
	March 1980	-	2,766	
	April 1980	-	2,925	
	May 1980	-	2,877	
	June 1980	-	3,061	= 2,365 M and 696 F

In the May/June there were 802 unfilled local vacancies.

In the June/July there were 703 unfilled local vacancies.

In May/June 320 people were placed / In June/July 366 people were placed

About 1 in 3 people are placed by the Job Centre, ie those leaving the register.

If anyone has time to follow up the quarterly returns they are broken down in the following age groups:

Under 19; 20–44; 45–49; 50–54; 55–59; 60–64; 65+ The last return was in April

Keyworth House near the Elephant deals with casual employment.

For those who have never visited a Job Centre it is an interesting exercise. There are 2 tiers, Tier 1 operates a Self Service, a bit like a supermarket where you literally do your shopping, looking at all the jobs advertised and then check out for advice and follow up. On the morning I was there the number of black youths and older adults was far greater than white. The Self Service section also houses an amazing computer which rapidly records all job vacancies in the area eg a job from the Brixton Job Centre was recorded through to Borough in 2 minutes. Apparently this is being replaced in a year's time by a new system, CAPITAL which will match the job to the person within the Inner London area.

Tier 2 covers Registration and Employment Advice, Disablement Advice, and advice on TOPS, YOP and STEP.

Comments made by one of the EO's were:

(a) The *food* processing factories etc of 20 years ago have gone, and most *of* the vacancies are now clerical.
(b) Unskilled people registering – but no suitable vacancies.

(c) Problems with literacy.
(d) Lack of confidence in filling in forms.
(e) Fierce competition for badly paid labouring jobs.
(f) Large numbers of black youngsters feel it uncool to look eager at interviews and prefer to use the Self Service in Tier 1, which means that frequently they end up in a constant state of drifting.

These comments we know apply to most areas of London; but I certainly didn't find it a wasted exercise.

APPENDIX IV

AYLESBURY PROJECT: AREA PROFILE COMPILED BY DR. DAVID BOAK AS A BASIS FOR THE PROJECT (a full copy of the Profile is filed at Southwark AEI)

Information and reference sources were assembled relating to the following main areas:

(1) General demography

(2) Social Survey
- ethnic groupings
- socio – economic groups
- employment
- social indicators
- welfare/special needs analysis/elderly
- single parent accommodation
- ease of mobility

(3) Housing

(4) Education
- pre-school
- 5 yrs. – 16/18 yrs.
- FE and other
- adult
- parent involvement

(5) Community services
- social services
- churches
- Job Centres
- Advice Centres
- information centres
- health services/day centres
- police
- shops

(6) Leisure facilities
- pubs
- parks
- adventure playgrounds
- social centres
- libraries

(7) Local organisations/clubs

(8) Youth provisioin

(9) Voluntary organisations

(10) Southwark Borough
- bureaucratic structure
- political make-up

(11) Industry and Commerce

(12) Communications

(13) Politics

(14) Future/Plans

(15) Historical dimension

(16) Comparative facts and figures

(17) Resources
- Physical (available for use)
- manpower

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APPENDIX V

AYLESBURY PROJECT: EXTRACTS FROM PRELIMINARY RETURNS FROM THE 1981 CENSUS RELATING TO FARADAY WARD

(1)	TOTAL RESIDENT POPULATION of which :		12,754
	New Commonwealth :	m.	1,034
		f.	1,052
	Other overseas :	m.	130
		f.	152
(2)	AGE COMPOSITION OF POPULATION :		
	Under 5 years		825
	5–15 years		1,902
	16–64 years		8,238
	65 years and over		1,789
(3)	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS : of which :		4,877
	Owner occupied		104
	Borough owned		3,950
	Otherwise rented or with job		823
(4)	PLACE OF BIRTH OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		
	UK		3,964
	Irish Republic		291
	New Commonwealth		504
	Elsewhere		114
(5)	HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING	1 person	1,290
		2 persons	1,494
		3 persons	839
		4 persons	696
		5 persons	319
		6 persons	149
		7 persons	82
	HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING 1 OR MORE RETIRED PERSON		1,699

Aylesbury Revisited

Outreach in the 1980s

The Aylesbury Report was first published in 1981, the result of an action research project in a large housing estate in South East London. It documents an almost unique moment in the history of adult education in England – when a local education authority gave licence to at least a few of its employees to question, criticise and experiment with some of its policies and practices in delivering adult education, in an attempt to do things differently. The Inner London Education Authority, who commissioned the original report, was not keen to publish it, and it was eventually published by Southwark Adult Education, hence the almost clandestine and underground distribution of the Report. This new edition, with a Foreword by one of the original authors, gives an opportunity for reflection at a time of great change in the management of adult education policy.

While the language has moved on over the 20 years since its publication, the issues the Report addresses have not. Key current debates which the Aylesbury Report illuminates include the following:

- The pressures and actual work of outreach
- Providers' relationships with voluntary organisations
- What it means to 'consult the community'
- Community education workers as professionals – whose side are they on?
- How are needs assessed?
- The tension between learner-focus and centralised bureaucracies
- Staff development and training.

In reading the Aylesbury Report, adult education workers will discover that they are part of a continuum of developments in progressive and radical adult education stretching back over a hundred years, and draw strength for current and future work.

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